





TORONTO, FROM KINGSTON ROAD.



1834. Memorial Volume. 1884

Past and Present: Historical and Descriptive.

BY THE

CANON OF ST. JAMES'S, TORONTO,

Author of "Toronto of Old," "The First Bishop of Toronto," etc.

AND

Author of "The Last Forty Years," etc.

Published by authority of the Citizens' Semi-Centennial Committee.



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THE purpose of the following pages, it is hoped, will be sufficiently apparent from their contents, but a few words of explanation as to the circumstances under which they came to be written may as well be inserted here. When the Semi-Centennial Celebration was first projected, it was a matter of course that the publication of a Memorial Volume, descriptive of the City's origin, growth and present condition should form part of the scheme. A Memorial Volume Committee was accordingly appointed to take the matter into consideration, and to report upon the size, scope, and general character of the projected volume. In course of time, a report was made, wherein the cost of the undertaking was accurately ascertained, and in which all details were carefully considered. This report was fully approved of by the General Executive Committee appointed to carry out the Celebration, but upon its being submitted to the City Council, that body did not see fit either to undertake the work of publication or to provide any guaranty against loss. The cost of producing such a volume is necessarily large, and no publisher could be found who was willing to undertake it at his own risk. For a time it seemed as though the project of a Memorial Volume would have to be abandoned, when, at the urgent solicitation of the Committee, our firm consented to undertake the work of publication, certain improvements in the size and character of the volume having first been agreed upon. Nothing in the shape of a guaranty was provided, beyond the mere recommendation of the Council of 1883 to the Council of 1884 that two hundred copies of the work should be purchased by the City upon its completion.

The proceedings having reached this stage, our firm made arrangements with the authors whose names appear upon the title page, who undertook to furnish the letterpress. The following pages are the result of their labours. The portraits of the twenty-four Mayors who have occupied the Civic chair during the last half century impart an additional interest and value to the text, while the other illustrations must be regarded as appropriate embellishments. It is confidently believed that the work, as a whole, fulfils every condition outlined in the prospectus issued by us several months since, and that in no essential respect does it fall short of the requirements of a MEMORIAL VOLUME.

TORONTO, 1st August, 1884.

1884.

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M E M O I R S
OF THE FOUR DECADES OF
YORK, UPPER CANADA.

BY THE REV. HENRY SCADDING, D.D.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

OBJECT AND METHOD OF THE WORK.



AM about to make a record of certain memoirs of Toronto before it was incorporated as a city. I employ the term memoirs, because I do not profess to present here a continuous history of the town from the day of its foundation. All that I am able to do, is to produce selections from such notices of the place and its inhabitants as I may discover in the few contemporaneous documents that are extant.

In 1793, on the northern bank of the bay theretofore known as the Bay of Toronto, the site of a town intended to be made the capital of Upper Canada was selected, and the name of York was prospectively given to it. At the same time the Bay of Toronto became the Bay of York, and the surrounding township the Township of York. Previously, for some time, it had, through some caprice in the Surveyor-general's office, borne the name of Dublin; at which period Scarborough, from a like cause, was Glasgow, Darlington Bristol, and Whitby Norwich.

On the 6th of March, 1834, the name York, as applied to the town projected in 1793, and actually begun to be built in 1794, was displaced by the appellation "Toronto." Thus the annals of the town known as York, Upper Canada, comprise the events of four decades. Accordingly this is the division of my narrative which I have adopted. I set forth brief memoirs of persons and incidents at York during the successive

periods: 1794-1804, 1804-1814, 1814-1824, 1824-1834. The ancient York, once the chief Station in Roman Britain, has had an existence of at least four times four hundred years. It is an authentic fact that the Emperor Severus died there on the 4th of February, A.D. 211. Our Upper Canadian York was, it will be seen, but an "infant of days" in comparison.

CHAPTER II.

PREVIOUS HISTORY OF THE SITE OF YORK. THE MIGRATORY CHARACTER OF THE NAME APPLIED TO IT.

T will appear that the appellation "Toronto" has been migratory. In 1793 it was applied familiarly to the locality on which the present City of Toronto stands; and the harbour of the present city was equally well known as the Bay of Toronto. But one hundred and seventeen years earlier, these names, written precisely as we write them now, belonged to localities, not on the shore of Lake Ontario, but to a region about forty miles farther north, lying between the waters of Gloucester or Matchedash Bay on Lake Huron and those of Lake Simeoe.

Thus, in a despatch of the Marquis de Denonville, Governor-General of Canada, to the government of Louis XIV., dated 1686, we have the word employed in this relation. In the despatch referred to, it is recommended that two military posts should be established to guard the two entrances to Lake Huron; one at its southern end on the strait there; and the other at the upper or northern end, at "the Pass by Toronto." Both posts were intended to bar the way against the English fur-traders, who would persist in penetrating to Michilimackinac by these routes, against the will of the Canadian authorities. The post on the strait at the southern end of Lake Huron was forthwith established. It was known as Fort St. Joseph, and its site afterwards became that of the American Fort Gratiot. But the order for the post at the upper or eastern end, at "the Pass by Toronto," was temporarily countermanded, as we are told in a despatch of Denonville's, dated 1687.

The intended site of the fort at "the Pass by Toronto" may be gathered from a map accompanying Lahontan's Letters, some of them

written at this period. On this map a fort is conspicuously marked, not far from the site of the present Penetanguishene, as suggested to be built there, not simply as a bar to the English, but as a bulwark against the Iroquois invaders, now threatening the very existence of the colony of New France. In the letter which alludes to the map, the proposed fort is described as being "at the mouth of the Bay of Toronto upon Lake Huron;" and this is the name given at full length on the map to Gloucester and Matchedash Bay: "Baie de Toronto." In this manner, what Denonville meant by "the Pass at Toronto, the other end of Lake Huron," is determined with great certainty. On the same map, which, no doubt reproduces earlier maps in the possession of the authorities at Quebec, our Lake Simcoe is Lake Toronto, and the Indians inhabiting its shores are the Torontogueronons, the Toronto nations; that is, the Hurons, or Wyandots, as we shall hereafter learn. (Sagard in his *Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons*, writes the word Houandates.) It is thus proved that in 1686-9, the dates of Denonville's despatches and Lahontan's letters and map, the name Toronto was largely identified with the environs of the present Lake Simcoe; while, at the same period, no such name is applied to any locality on the shores of Lake Ontario in any known map or document, printed or manuscript. Herman Moll, also, in his large map dated 1720, and based on the best authorities of the period, uses the local nomenclature just indicated.

A few years later, the water-communication eastward, between Lake Simcoe and Lake Ontario, by way of the rivers Otonabee and Trent, is marked on maps as "Toronto river;" while the Humber, a line of communication southward between Lakes Simcoe and Ontario, is designated by exactly the same title.

Recalling now what has just been narrated, that Matchedash Bay was also "Bay of Toronto," we can account for the language of the maps only by supposing that there was an important interior district generally known as the Toronto region, to and from which these water-communications were regarded as highways, on the west, north-west, east and south respectively.

After a further lapse of time, a change takes place in the wording of the maps. The name Toronto vanishes from the environs of Lake Simcoe, and appears attached to a locality on Lake Ontario, the spot to which it still adheres. The change can be explained thus: the large Huron or Wyandot population, which had given rise to the expression TORONTO, was now dispersed by the incursions of the Iroquois, and the country rendered comparatively a desert. The region was, therefore, no

longer resorted to as in years by-gone; and so the word Toronto, as applied to it, dropped out of use.

The spot on Lake Ontario which thus by some happy fortune received the name, had been long a well-frequented landing-place for trading and hunting parties when on their way to the former populous Toronto district.

The name Toronto was thus perpetuated; and although curiously fated to be lost again for awhile, and again to be recovered, it continues to this day, an appellation not without distinction, full of memories connected with its earlier use, and suggestive of the chequered antecedents of the locality which it at present designates.

CHAPTER III.

PREVIOUS HISTORY OF THE SITE OF YORK (CONTINUED). SIGNIFICATION OF THE NAME APPLIED TO THE LOCALITY.

S to the signification of the term "Toronto"—one very definite tradition which has come down to us, is that it is "place of meeting"—place of concourse, or rendezvous. That this is a near approximation to the sense of the expression may be gathered thus: Gabriel Sagard, a Franciscan missionary, who collected his information in the neighbourhood of Lake Simeoe, just before the time of Denonville's despatches, gives in his "Dictionary of the Huron Language," published at Paris in 1632, the word "Toronton" as signifying in French "beaucoup," in English "much, or plenty;" and the instance of its use which he adds shews that it was applied to men as well as things; thus: "Toronton S. ahouyo"—he killed many S.—Sonnontouans or Seneca Iroquois, we will suppose.

The word "Toronton" probably first struck the ear of voyageurs and traders, uttered with energy by their Huron guides and companions when on their way to the interior Huron country, repeated again and again, to denote the great populousness of that region. The sonorous term would be caught up by the French and converted by them into a local name. It served to denote to them *là où il y a beaucoup de gens*—a place where numerous allied and well-disposed tribes did congregate.

I observe in the French letter of M. de Beletères to Major Rogers, at Detroit, in 1761, the expression "Beaucoup de nations," which seems to translate "Toronton" so well, used in reference to Indian bands: "On leur a annoncé qu'il y avait beaucoup de nations à votre suite, à qui on avait promis de pillage."

A second additional interpretation of the term Toronto must now be noticed: "trees rising out of the water." When in the course of events the name Toronto was transferred, as we have seen, from the Lake Simcoe region to the spot to which it is now applied, a fancied resemblance in sound to a Mohawk word having some such sense as that just intimated, led persons acquainted with the Mohawk dialect to imagine an allusion in the word to the peninsula in front of Toronto, with its dwarf trees as seen at a distance on the lake. But all this was manifestly an afterthought, and mere guesswork, like so many other explanations of Indian words offered us by interpreters and others, especially by those familiar only with one of the aboriginal modes of speech.

One observation must be added in regard to the original full form of the word Toronto. The word Toronto, as we now have it, in official documents dated nearly two hundred years back, seems to have suffered a loss at both ends. Not only has a final *n* dropped off, but an initial *o* has disappeared. In Sagard, besides the instance already given of Toronton in the sense of *beauco ip*, we have "Otoronton" also, with exactly the same meaning, as in the expression "O-toronton dachenequoy—*Ten mange beaucoup:*" I eat much of it. "Ouentaronk," a name applied to Lake Simcoe, preserved in D. W. Smyth's Gazetteer, 1799, probably shews traces of the losses at the beginning and end of the present word Toronto. Let *ouen* be taken to represent the nasal sound so often heard at the beginning of Indian words, and let the *onk* at the end stand for the nasal sound heard with equal frequency in that place, and we virtually have Otoronton under a disguise. In the word Niagara, it may be remembered, as in Toronto, an initial Indian *o* has been dropped off. The word was formerly Omagara. In like manner Chippeway used to be Otchipway, which it has again become. In Alexander Henry's "Travels," Tessalon river, running into Lake Huron, is the Otessalon. So Chouéguen, at the mouth of the Oswego river, is in the Jesuit Relations "Ochonéguen," where doubtless we have the full form of "Oswego" itself, from which the *n* at the end has been dropped, as in Toronto. To conclude: our Consecon, in Prince Edward County, ought, I am informed, to be written Oconsecon. Some utterly baseless and unhistorical interpretations of "Toronto" circulated by writers of books of travels and others, are the

following. In his "Subaltern's Furlough," Lieutenant Coke makes it to be a corrupt form, in some way, of the French *Ronde d'eau*: "It is so called from the circular bay upon whose margin the town is built." Sir Richard Bonnycastle, in his "Canada in 1841," will have it to be "the name, as it is supposed, of the Italian officer of engineers who built the fort, there being no word of this kind in any Indian language now understood in Canada." Lossing, in his "Field-Book of the War of 1812," accepting probably the guess of some interpreter unacquainted with any dialect but his own, says that the word is correctly "Taron-tah—Trees in the water," and "so," he asserts, "the French called the fort when they built it."

CHAPTER IV.

PREVIOUS HISTORY OF THE SITE OF YORK (CONTINUED). FORT ROUILLE.

HE name Toronto—with greater propriety, probably, if written at full length "Otoronto"—found a resting place at last, as we have already learned, at the locality which still retains it. More specifically, it became affixed to a French trading-post established on the spot in 1749, the proper official designation of which was Fort Rouillé, so named in compliment to Antoine Louis Rouillé, Count de Jouy, French Colonial Minister, 1749-54. In popular language Fort Rouillé came to be Fort Toronto, that is to say, the fort at Toronto; and as time went on, the popular expression appeared on the maps, while the official title of the station was almost forgotten.

This Fort Toronto—correctly speaking Fort Rouillé—was the building of which conspicuous traces continued to be visible down to 1878, when the ground was levelled for the purposes of the Toronto Industrial Association. The spot, with its grass-grown hillocks and shallow trenches, shewing the lines of the cedar pickets, was familiarly spoken of and described in the topographical books as "The Old French Fort." The establishment itself was burned in 1759 by order of the French Commander-in-chief, as we shall presently learn.

It has been stated by some writers, by Garneau for example, that Fort Toronto was a structure of stone; but this was not so. We have particulars of the fort from various sources. It was simply a stockaded, wooden store-house, with quarters for a keeper and a few regular soldiers. The rule of the Governor-General, who gave the order for the erection of a fort here, M. de la Galissonière, was brief. The building of the fort was accomplished by his successor, the Marquis de la Jonquière. It was expected to intercept the Indian trade which was being drawn to the English post across the lake, at Chouéguen (Oehouéguen, Oswegon, Oswego). Persons interested in the trading-posts at Fort Frontenac and Niagara demurred to the establishment of the fort at Toronto; but the authorities overruled the objections. In 1752, the Abbé Piequet visited Fort Toronto. He found there, he says, "good bread and good wine, and everything requisite for the trade; while they were in want of these things at all the other posts." According to the Abbé, some of the Mississagas expressed their sorrow to him here that the French had only established a canteen at Toronto, and not a church.

The situation and dimensions of the fort at Toronto are given with a good deal of minuteness by M. Pouchot, the last French commandant at Fort Niagara, in his "Memoir upon the War in North America, 1755-60," "The Fort of Toronto," he says, "is at the end of the bay (*i. e.*, the west end) upon the side which is quite elevated and covered with flat rock. Vessels cannot approach within cannon shot. This fort or post," he continues, "was a square of about thirty toises on a side, externally with flanks of fifteen feet. The curtains formed the buildings of the fort. It was very well built, piece upon piece; but was only useful for trade. A league west of the fort is the mouth of the Toronto river, which is of considerable size. This river communicates with Lake Huron by a portage of fifteen leagues, and is frequented by the Indians who come from the north."

In 1752 war was in active progress between England and France. The keeper of the solitary fort at Toronto was full of anxiety. He was convinced that the English were stirring up the Indians to destroy his post. "The store-keeper at Toronto," M. de Longueuil reports in 1752, "writes to M. de Verchères, commandant at Fort Frontenac, that some trustworthy Indians had assured him that the Salteaux (the Otechipways of the Sault, the same in fact as the Mississagas) had dispersed themselves round the head of Lake Ontario; and seeing himself surrounded by them, he doubts not but they have some evil design on his fort. There is no doubt," M. de Longueuil continues, "but 'tis the English who are inducing the Indians

to destroy the French, and that they would give a good deal to get the savages to destroy Fort Toronto, on account of the essential injury it does their trade at Chouéguen (Oswego)."

The keeper had good grounds for his alarm. In 1757 the fort at Toronto was the scene of a plot which M. Pouchot, commandant at Niagara, was the means of frustrating. It appears from M. Pouchot's narrative (i. 82) that a contingent of Mississagas, to the number of ninety, proceeding to Montreal to assist the French, conceived the idea of pillaging Fort Toronto as they passed, notwithstanding that it belonged to their friends. The brandy known to be stored away somewhere within its palisades was the temptation. M. Varren, the keeper, and ten men under M. de Noyelle, were the only persons within the fort. M. de Noyelle, we are told, was secretly apprised of the plot by a French domestic. He sent a canoe with two men across the lake to Niagara to M. Pouchot in command there. M. Pouchot at once despatched M. de la Ferté, captain of Sarre, and M. de Pinsun, an officer of Bearn, with sixty-one men, each having a swivel gun at the bow of his bateau. They reached Toronto at four o'clock in the evening of the next day. They found the Indians encamped near the fort, and passing in front of them saluted their wigwams with "artillery and musket balls," but fired only into the air, as M. Pouchot had given orders. The Indians were immediately summoned to attend a council. They were greatly astonished at the adventure, M. Pouchot tells us, and "confessed everything: they had had false news delivered to them they said, to the effect that the English had beaten the French. But the true reason of their action," M. Pouchot adds, "was that they felt themselves in force, and could get plenty of brandy for nothing."

In 1758, Fort Frontenac was captured by the English under Colonel Bradstreet. M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, the second of that name, gave orders that should the enemy appear at Toronto, the buildings there should be burned, and that the men stationed there should retire to Niagara. In 1759 M. de Vaudreuil summoned down troops from the Illinois and from Detroit to protect Fort Niagara, in case it should be besieged by the English, and for a like purpose "I have sent orders to Toronto," he says, "to collect the Mississagas there, and other nations, and to dispatch them over to Niagara." Doubtless on this occasion Fort Toronto was burned, and its contents and military guard transported to Niagara, which itself, after a formal siege by Sir William Johnson, was surrendered July 20th, 1759.

In 1760 the site of Fort Toronto was visited and reported on by Major Rogers. He has left a narrative of his movements. On the 13th of

September he started from Montreal with two hundred Rangers in fifteen whale boats. After describing the several stages of the journey up to about what is now Port Hope, his approach to Toronto is thus narrated : "The wind being fair, the 30th of September (1760) we embarked at the first dawn of day, and with the assistance of sails and oars, made great way on a south-west course, and in the evening reached the river Toronto (*i.e.*, the Humber), having run seventy miles. . . . There was a tract of about three hundred acres of cleared ground round the place where formerly the French had a fort that was called Fort Toronto. The soil here," he observes, "is principally clay. The deer are extremely plenty in this country. Some Indians were hunting at the mouth of the river, who ran into the woods at our approach, very much frightened. They came in, however, in the morning, and testified their joy at the news of our success against the French. They told us we could easily accomplish our journey from thence to Detroit in eight days; that when the French traded at that place the Indians used to come with their peltry from Michilimackinac down the river Toronto; that the portage was but twenty miles from that to a river falling into Lake Huron (Holland river, Lake Simeoe and the Severn considered as one stream.) . . . I think Toronto," Major Rogers adds, "a most convenient place for a factory (a trading-post); and that from thence we may easily settle the north side of Lake Erie. We left Toronto on the 1st of October, steering south, right across the west end of Lake Ontario. At dark we arrived at the south shore, five miles west of Fort Niagara, some of our boats having now become exceeding leaky and dangerous." In 1767, Sir William Johnson, in an official report on Indian affairs, stated to the Earl of Shelburne that experienced traders would have willingly given one thousand pounds for the monopoly of the trade with the Indians at Fort Toronto for one season.

CHAPTER V.

PREVIOUS HISTORY OF THE SITE OF YORK (CONTINUED). THE SITE SURVEYED. YORK PROJECTED.

ROM the period of the conquest of Canada onward, the expression "Toronto," as denoting the locality where the old French trading-post, Toronto, had stood, was very familiar among all who had any occasion to visit the spot, or to speak of it.

In 1788, Mr. Collins, deputy surveyor-general of the Province of Quebec, in a report presented to Lord Dorchester, thus writes: "The harbour of Toronto is capacious, safe, and well sheltered." Shrewd inhabitants at Quebec had their eye on this region. In 1791, Lord Dorchester, we are told by Mr. Collins, "was pleased to order one thousand acres of land to be laid out at Toronto for M. Rocheblave; and seven hundred acres each to Captain Lajorée and Captain Bouchette, at the same place." The order was never carried into effect. Upper Canada was organized, and Lord Dorchester had no longer any power to make grants of land there.

On the fine map of the Province of Quebec constructed by Major Holland, an officer of engineers, the peninsula in front of the present Toronto is marked "Presqu'isle, Toronto;" what we now call Humber bay, is "Toronto bay;" and a triangular tract on the bank eastward is "Toronto;" meaning, doubtless, the comparatively cleared space round the old trading-post.

In 1791, the distinguished early provincial land surveyor, Augustus Jones, of whom we shall hear more, surveyed the whole of the north shore of Lake Ontario, and his termini of exploration are "Toronto and the Trent, head of Bay of Quinté," when laying off the concessions. In passing, he takes note of a pond (probably Frenchman's Bay), commonly called, he says, "below the Highlands;" "this," he remarks, "is the first harbour for boats from Toronto bay." September 15th, 1791, Augustus Jones makes an entry: "Went from Toronto to the river of Credit; high winds prevented us from going farther. 16th. From the river of Credit, went to the Forty Mile creek, and called that distance from the fort, I suppose." On the 17th he reaches Newark, and discharges his men. In 1792, he is engaged in surveying again, back of what is now

Humber bay ; and we have him noting, July 22nd, that he came across "an Indian footpath leading to Lake la Clie (one of the names of Lake Simeoe during the French period), near a pond of St. John's or Toronto creek," *i.e.* the Humber. St. John's meant a primitive inn at the mouth of the Humber kept by a landlord of that name. In April in the following year, 1793, Augustus Jones is at Niagara, making ready for another journey to Toronto. But now he will be in attendance on the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Simeoe, who is going himself to make a personal inspection of the locality. At one o'clock on Thursday, May 2nd, the party set off. On Thursday, the 9th, they are at St. John's, having coasted round the head of the lake. On that day Augustus Jones makes the following entry in his Journal :—"Went into Toronto bay, and proceeded up the creek that empties in through the marsh, about five miles, to see a mill seat." The stream thus examined had no name ; but it evidently was our Don.

In the *Gazette* of May 9th, 1793, published at Newark (Niagara), we have a fuller notice of the Governor's excursion to Toronto. It was an expedition of great moment. A site for the new capital of Upper Canada was to be selected. On the 5th of the preceding April, the Governor had written to Major-General Alured Clarke at Quebec in the following strain :—"Many American officers give it as their opinion that Niagara, *i.e.* the Fort, should be attacked ; and Detroit must fall of course. I hope by this autumn to shew the fallacy of that reasoning, by opening a safe and expeditious communication to La Trenche," *i.e.* the modern Canadian Thames. "But on this subject I reserve myself," he adds, "until I have visited Toronto." The *Gazette* of May 9th mentions the setting out of the party, of which, as we have already learned, Augustus Jones was one : "On Thursday last, May 2nd, his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, accompanied by several military gentlemen, set out in boats for Toronto, round the head of Lake Ontario by Burlington Bay." The *Gazette* then adds : "In the evening H. M. vessels, the *Caldwell* and *Buffalo*, sailed for the same place." The *Onondago* was already there with its commander, Joseph Bouchette, engaged in the memorable first survey of the harbour so graphically described by him. I transcribe the passage, although it is well known already to all readers of Canadian history :—

"It fell to my lot," Bouchette writes, in his "British Dominions in North America," i. 89, "to make the first survey of York harbour in 1793. Lieut.-Governor the late General Simeoe, who then resided at Navy Hall, Niagara, having formed extensive plans for the improvement of the colony, had resolved upon laying the foundations of a provincial capital.

I was at that period in the naval service of the lakes, and the survey of Toronto (York) Harbour was entrusted by his Excellency to my performance. I still distinctly recollect the untamed aspect which the country exhibited when first I entered the beautiful basin, which thus became the scene of my early hydrographical operations. Dense and trackless forests lined the margin of the lake, and reflected their inverted images in its glassy surface. The wandering savage had constructed his ephemeral habitation beneath their luxuriant foliage, the group then consisting of two families of Mississagas, and the bay and neighbouring marshes were the hitherto uninvaded haunts of immense coveys of wild fowl. Indeed, they were so abundant as in some measure to annoy us during the night."

Lieutenant-Governor Simeoe was absent from Niagara on the occasion of this his first visit to Toronto until May 13th. His return is announced in the *Gazette* thus: "On Monday (May 13th), about 2 o'clock, the Lieutenant-Governor and suite arrived at Navy Hall from Toronto. They returned in boats round the lake."

CHAPTER VI.

1793—YORK, STILL ONLY IN IDEA, OR ON PAPER.

AFTER the personal inspection by the Governor of the site of the proposed capital, the name of York, instead of Toronto, begins to appear. The new name was expected to yield pleasure to King George III., as it was given in honour of his second son, the Duke of York, now coming into notice as a military commander on the continent of Europe. For a time, we have, in letters and other documents, the expression "Toronto, now York," or "York, late Toronto." In a despatch to General Clarke at Quebec, of May 31st, the Lieutenant-Governor writes: "It is with great pleasure that I offer to you some observations on the military strength and naval convenience of Toronto, now York, which I propose immediately to occupy. I lately examined the harbour, accompanied by such officers, naval and military, as I thought most competent to give me assistance thereon, and

upon minute investigation, I found it to be, without comparison, the most proper situation for an arsenal, in every extent of the word, that can be met with in this Province."

The change of name from Toronto to York was very quietly made. I had hoped to find in one of the *Gazettes* a proclamation on the subject; but no such document is there. On Wednesday, the 28th of May, 1793, the second session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada began at Niagara. On the 9th of the following July it terminated. There is no allusion in the opening or closing speech to the works about to be undertaken on the north side of the lake. But we may suppose that the minds of the members and other influential persons were made familiar with the Governor's intentions in the course of friendly communications constantly had with him.

Immediately after the 9th, steps began to be taken preparatory to the contemplated removal of the government from Niagara. Troops were transported across to the north side of the lake. "A few days ago," reports the *Gazette* of August 1, 1793, "the First Division of Her Majesty's Corps of Queen's Rangers left Queenston for Toronto, now York, and proceeded in batteaux round the head of the Lake Ontario by Burlington Bay. And shortly afterwards another division of the same regiment sailed in the King's vessels, the *Onondago* and *Caldwell*, for the same place." It is evident that the Governor, as he expressed himself to General Clarke, is about "immediately to occupy" the site that seemed to him so eligible for an arsenal and strong military post.

Having sent forward two divisions of the regiment whose name is so closely associated with his own, to be a body-guard to receive him on his own arrival, and to be otherwise usefully employed, he himself embarks for the same spot. "On Monday evening" (this would be July 29th, 1793,) the *Gazette* last named informs us, "His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor left Navy Hall, and embarked on board His Majesty's schooner, the *Mississaga*, which sailed immediately with a favourable gale for York, with the remainder of the Queen's Rangers."

We should be glad to have minute particulars of each day's proceedings immediately after the arrival of this considerable force, naval and military, at York. But on this subject we are left for an interval without precise information. We must suppose the Rangers busily engaged in establishing themselves under canvas about the grassy knoll on which the garrison buildings were afterwards erected. We must imagine them landing stores and cannon and other munitions of war from the ships; landing and unpacking the numerous parts and appurtenances of the famous

canvas house, which the Governor had purchased in England for the accommodation of himself and his family, when Captain Cook's effects were sold there. That celebrated navigator had caused it to be contrived for his own use while engaged on his scientific expeditions. It must have been a pavilion of considerable dimensions, and was doubtless planted with considerable care by the soldiers and others. It was literally the Praetorium of the camp; the General's head-quarters; only, unlike praetoriums of old, it was movable, and made of perishable materials. To quote Bouchette's well known words once more: "His Excellency inhabited during the summer and through the winter a canvas house, which he imported expressly for the occasion; but frail as was its substance, it was rendered exceedingly comfortable, and soon became as distinguished for the social and urbane hospitality of its venerated and gracious host, as for the peculiarity of its structure." We can conceive, too, all hands, sailors as well as soldiers, busy in opening eastwards through the woods a path that should be more respectable and more practicable for all purposes than a mere trail, to that far-east portion of the shore where the town plot was going to be laid out.

Towards the close of August news of a striking nature from the outer world, from the far European East, reached the camp at York. It was known that hostilities were in progress between the allied forces of Europe and the armies of revolutionary France. Intelligence now came that the English contingent on the continent had contributed materially to a success over the French in Flanders on the 23rd of May. Now, this contingent of 10,000 men was under the Duke of York, the King's son. A happy thought strikes the Governor. What could be better, more appropriate, or more politic, than to celebrate the event in a demonstrative manner on a spot which had just been named after that prince?

Accordingly, on the 26th of August, the following General Order was issued:—"York, Upper Canada, 26th August, 1793. His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor having received information of the success of His Majesty's arms under His Royal Highness the Duke of York, by which Holland has been saved from the invasion of the French armies, and it appearing that the combined forces have been successful in dislodging their enemies from an entrenched camp supposed to be impregnable, from which the most important consequences may be expected, and in which arduous attempt the Duke of York and His Majesty's troops supported the national glory; it is His Excellency's orders that on the raising of the Union Flag at 12 o'clock to-morrow, a Royal salute of twenty-one guns is to be fired, to be answered by the shipping in the harbour, in

respect to His Royal Highness, and in commemoration of the naming this harbour from his English title, York. E. B. Littlehales, Major of Brigade."

This running up of the Union Flag at noon, on the 27th of August, 1793, and the salutes that immediately after began to reverberate through the neighbouring solitary woods, and roll far down and across the silvery surface of Lake Ontario, may be taken, as doubtless they were designed to be, for the formal inauguration of the Upper Canadian York, though it had existence as yet only in the idea of its projector, or as roughly sketched out for him on paper, perhaps by the hand of Augustus Jones.

The rejoicing at York over the triumph of the British arms proved to be somewhat premature. The success which attended the first operations of the Royal Duke did not continue to crown his efforts. But the report of the honours rendered him in this remote corner of the globe would, nevertheless, be very grateful to the fatherly heart of the King.

On the Saturday after the royal salutes the first meeting of the Executive Council ever held at York took place in the Garrison, in the canvas house, as we may suppose. The words of the late Mr. Lee, who searched the records at Ottawa for me on this point, are as follow:— "The first Council held at Garrison, York, late Toronto (once more), at which Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe was present, was on Saturday 3rd August, 1793." It was continued, Mr. Lee stated, to the following 5th of September, when the Government returned to Navy Hall.

The following winter, however, 1793-4, was passed by the Governor and his family at York. Bouchette speaks of his inhabiting the canvas house "through the winter." In the following February the Governor writes to Mr. Secretary Dundas in London: and, after his now prolonged experience, he speaks of the newly established post thus glowingly: "York," he says, "is the most important and defensible situation in Upper Canada, or that I have seen in North America. I have, Sir, formerly entered into a detail of the advantages of this arsenal of Lake Ontario. An interval of Indian land, six-and-thirty miles, divides this settlement from Burlington Bay, where that of Niagara commences. The communication with Lake Huron is very easy, in five or six days, and will in all respects be of the most essential importance."

In the memoranda of Augustus Jones, we meet with the expression "the town of York" for the first time. On the 3rd of August, 1793, he writes, "Waited on his Excellency in Council; and went with him to look at the situation of the town of York." All that is to be seen is still, we observe, only its situation or site. After this the intended capital is more

generally alluded to. On the 9th of September, Mr. Talbot, afterwards the famous Colonel Talbot, a member of the Governor's suite, playfully refers to the new place, in a letter to his friend Colonel McKee, at Niagara, dated at York: "There is a most magnificent city laid out which is to be begun in the spring." Mr. Secretary Jarvis had already rather humorously written to a friend, of the Governor's expedition from Niagara, before it was accomplished, as a tour in search of a city. "Our Assembly," he said, "are to meet on the 12th of next month, and a motley crew they are. After the Assembly is prorogued, the Colonel and his suite (*i.e.* the Lieut.-Governor) are to go to Toronto a city-hunting. I hope they will be successful." Mr. Talbot, in the letter just mentioned, gives us some idea of the discomforts of camp-life at York at this period. "Col. Simeoe and the Queen's Rangers are encamped here," he tells Colonel McKee, "and are preparing huts for the winter." Mr. Talbot had recently been quartered with his regiment at the Falls of the Miami; a wild region doubtless; but he writes: "The foot of the Rapids [*i.e.*, of the Miami river], is quite London to this spot. However, I fear it will be my fate to pass some months here."

One other mention of the camp at York in Augustus Jones's journal is noticeable: "Went to Camp," he writes, on the 1st of September, 1793: "attended Prayers." We thus incidentally learn that the good Governor did not neglect in his camp the recognition of Almighty God, whose instrument he assuredly was in the implanting of English civilization here in 1793. The Chief Brant was for a time lodged in this camp; and Colonel Butler, the identical officer whose name was associated with his in "Gertrude of Wyoming." Augustus Jones mentions the arrival of these two personages during his own stay at York. Mr. Jones was despatched from York on professional duty to Niagara on the 6th of November; but he is ordered to be back in January. He is then to track out and clear, through the primeval forest, a practicable route from York to Lakes Simeoe and Huron. This route had been already personally explored by the indefatigable Governor, accompanied by a party of officers, in October, 1793. It was quickly seen by him that this would be in the future a most important highway of commerce between the two great lakes, Ontario and Huron. Mr. Jones inserts a memorandum that while remaining at York, the men under him had been employed in "making a road from the camp to Toronto Old Fort."

The First Decade.

1794—1804.

CHAPTER I.

YORK UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF GOVERNOR SIMCOE, DOWN TO 1796.



FEW years since we rightly regarded the founding of New Westminster, in British Columbia, as an event of great interest, indicating, as it conspicuously did, an important advance of English civilization into regions of the earth hitherto wholly undeveloped and savage. With the same feeling, at a later period we beheld Winnipeg, in Manitoba, projected, and springing instantly into vigorous life. An incident of a parallel character to the origination of these places was the founding of York, Upper Canada, in 1794. It was, at the time, the establishment of an entirely new centre of influence and power in the domain of savagery. Accomplished, however, in great obscurity, and while the attention of men in general was turned to stirring events taking place elsewhere in the world at the moment, it was long before the importance and significance of the founding of this York were adequately recognised. Its growth, too, at a time when transit from point to point was beset with every conceivable difficulty, and when the migration of the European peoples to the west had only begun, was, when compared with that of new communities in the present day, far from rapid.

The precise site chosen for the original town-plot of York fills modern beholders with astonishment. It was towards the extreme east of the bay, commanding, indeed, a good water prospect towards the west; but low in situation, and flanked and backed by an extensive marsh. This physical circumstance, however, did not disconcert the purchasers of lots in the proposed town. Some were even enthusiastic in their views of the marsh. Mr. D. W. Smyth, in his *Gazetteer*, writes:—"The river Don empties itself into the harbour a little above the town, running through a

marsh which, when drained, will afford beautiful and fertile meadows. This has already been effected in a small degree, which will no doubt encourage further attempts." This refers, in all likelihood, to a work commenced by Mr. Justice Boulton in this quarter, which failed of its laudable object. Again, Mr. D. W. Smyth, in another place, writes : "The ground which has been prepared for the Government House"—he means the Parliament Building—"is situated between the city and the river Don, in a beautiful spot; and its vicinity well suited for gardens and a park. The oaks are large, the soil excellent, and watered by various streams." Some analogies derived from the Fen-country of England led to the idea that the marsh could be drained, and converted into meadow; but the character of the marsh in the present case, consisting of a mass of floating vegetation, was not well considered; nor its cause, a sluggish creek passing into a land-locked piece of water, Ashbridge's Bay, before finding an exit in the harbour of York. But the whole locality must have worn an encouraging look while the surrounding forest remained intact. Mr. Smyth speaks of the fine oaks hereabout to be seen; some of which adorned the margin of the bay at York down to a late period. In addition to oaks, "black and white," Augustus Jones, in his primitive field-notes of the vegetation observed along here, names also "pine, bass-wood, hickory, maple, beech and ash." He also met with "hazel-nut bottoms" and "hazel flats." Near what is now the Humber he noticed a "birch bush."

By March 6th, 1794, building materials would be seen lying about, at points, few and far between, along the as yet scarcely distinguishable King Street: hewn logs and beams, sawn scantling and plank, with bundles of cleft shingles, drawn there over the snow from the several shanties in the adjoining woods, where, by the help of broad-axe, adze, and whip-saw, such objects were prepared; a few heaps of lake-shore stone or small surface boulders to aid in foundations, and a few bricks for the chimneys from a lonely kiln not far off, in the grounds probably of the expected "Palace," of which we shall soon hear. Clay suited to such a purpose was plentifully found there, and in a very few weeks after the 6th, Mr. W. Smith, or one of the Messrs. Cozens—as to the precise individual there is some dispute—would be busily employed in "raising" the first house in York. Other habitations followed in due course: Mr. Small's house for one, a building which is still in existence, improved and enlarged, at the south-east corner of King Street and Berkeley Street. An old contemporary plan, which shows Mr. Small's house here, shows also the roadway, which at this point veers slightly to the north, marked "Road to Quebec," with

an arrow indicating the direction. Thus, then, the "most magnificent city," of which, as having been "laid out," Mr. Talbot wrote jocosely to Colonel McKee in the preceding autumn, now actually began to be a visible and palpable entity.

The town-plot, as defined at this time, was a compact little parallelogram bounded on the west by George Street, on the east by Ontario Street, on the north by Duchess Street, and on the south by Palace Street—streets that still retain their original names. The loyal, monarchical character of the Governor appears in nearly every one of these street names, as also in the names given to other streets, as well as in the name of the town itself. The main thoroughfare was King Street; the next street parallel to it on the north was Duke Street; the street north of that, Duchess Street. The boundary westward was George Street; the next street parallel to that, eastward, was Frederick Street, and the street following that was Caroline Street, while the one succeeding that was Princes Street. The last street running north and south was Ontario Street. George Street bore the name of George Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. Caroline Street commemorated his wife, the unfortunate Caroline of Brunswick. Duke Street alluded to the Duke of York, Duchess Street to his wife, and Frederick Street was distinguished by his Christian name. The general name, Princes Street, was a comprehensive compliment to the other royal princes, without specifying them. Ontario Street indicated the track which doubtless from time immemorial led down to the canoe-landing nearest to the "Carrying-place" on the Island where the small craft passing up and down the lake and trading at York were wont to be lifted across the narrow neck of land there. Palace Street was so styled because it was expected to be the *via sacra* to the "Palace of Government," to speak in French style; *i.e.*, the public buildings, for Parliamentary and other purposes, to which in fact it did lead, down to 1824.

How the Lieutenant-Governor himself was employed during a portion of this month of March, rendered ever-memorable as the era from which the forty years of York took their start, we gather from a contemporary map which is extant, and from which I once had an opportunity of making a transcript of a number of written memoranda. This map was drawn to show the track of the Lieutenant-Governor in the several exploratory expeditions in which he was personally engaged during his administration of Upper Canada. During the spring of 1794, he was making a flying visit all the way to the upper of the two Miami rivers, from York. The record on the map is brief and simple. The hardship and toil and risk incurred must have been formidable. Red dotted lines mark the line of travel;

and the memorandum in the margin is as follows:—"Lieutenant-Governor Simeoe's route from York to the Thames; down that river in canoes to Detroit; from thence to the Miamis, to build the fort Lord Dorchester ordered to be built. Left York March 18th, 1794; got to Detroit April 3rd; returned by Lake Erie and Niagara to York, May 5th, 1794."

Down to the year 1796, a portion of every summer was still passed at his old quarters at Navy Hall, Niagara, the Provincial Parliament continuing to assemble there until accommodation for them should be provided at York.

That preparations were being made at York during the summer of 1794 for the erection of the public buildings, we learn from an advertisement in the *Gazette* of July 10th in that year. It is remarkably brief, and runs as follows:—"Wanted—Carpenters for the Public Buildings to be erected at York. Applications to be made to John McGill, Esq., at York, or to Mr. Allan MacNab, at Navy Hall." This Mr. Allan MacNab was the father of the gentleman who afterwards became widely known throughout Canada as Sir Allan MacNab.

In 1795, the French Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt visited Upper Canada from Philadelphia. He was hospitably entertained for eighteen days at Navy Hall, Niagara. Collecting information for the volumes of travels which he afterwards published, he took the trouble to send two young friends, who were accompanying him, over to York, as reporters; having been assured that it was really not worth his while to go there in person. M. de Petit-Thouars and M. Guillemand, the gentlemen thus employed, brought back word that there had as yet been erected at "Yorck"—so the name reads throughout the narrative—only twelve houses. "They stand on the bay near the river Don." There was a block house on each side of the entrance to the harbour. The barracks, occupied by the governor's regiment, stood near the lake, two miles from the town. "In a circumference of one hundred and fifty miles, the Indians are the only neighbours of Yorek. They belong to the tribe of the Mississagas."

The Duke informs his readers that York was intended by the Governor to be the centre of the naval force on Lake Ontario. Only four gunboats are at present on the lake; two of which are constantly employed in transporting merchandize. The other two, which alone are fit to carry troops and guns, and have oars and sails, are lying under cover until an occasion occurs to convert them to their intended purpose. It is the Governor's intention to build ten similar gunboats on Lake Ontario, and ten on Lake Erie. "The ship-carpenters employed," he says, "reside in the United States, and return home every winter."

A little further on he remarks that York is an unhealthy place, and will long remain so, "from the nature of the ground which separates the bay from the lake." And next the Duke ventures to say, rather sweepingly, of the inhabitants of York, that "they do not possess the fairest character." Such is the very direct way in which the Duke is made to speak by his translator, H. Neuman, in the quarto edition of the "Travels," published in London in 1799, and in most books on York these are usually quoted as the Duke's words. What the Duke really said, having reference of course to rumours brought over by MM. de Petit-Thouars and Guillemand, was : "Les habitans n'y sont pas, dit-on, de la meilleure espèce"—words not quite so harsh. (See the Paris edition, "An vii de la République," tome ii., p. 112.) The head and front of the offending of the persons alluded to, who were, in fact, rather settlers on Yonge Street than "habitans" of the town of York, consisted, with the Duke, in their having abandoned the Pulteney settlement in the Genesee country across the lake, and transferred themselves to Upper Canada. The Duke specially mentions as the leader of these deserters "le nommé Berczy"—in Neuman, "the noted Berczy"—as then resident at York. For the action of Mr. Berczy and his German friends satisfactory reason could probably be found. Mr. Berczy, and his son after him, both became men of much consideration in Upper Canada. In my quotations from Liancourt I have corrected the orthography of Mr. Berczy's name. From indistinctness in the Duke's handwriting, it was printed "Batzzy" in the French edition. From the same fault in the handwriting of H. Neuman it appeared as "Baty" in the English translation. In both cases, readers of Liancourt's "Travels" may have been mystified.

In 1796 other works of a public nature, besides the Government buildings, were in progress at York. I have a warrant before me, dated in June, from the Lieutenant-Governor to Mr. McGill, Commissioner of Stores, authorizing him "to supply from time to time from the government stores such quantities of rum as may be required to be given to the men (Queen's Rangers) employed on the wharf and canal at York." A landing pier was being constructed at the garrison, and a navigable opening made into the Garrison creek. In an old map, store-houses, afterwards converted into a military hospital, are seen up this creek. And Mr. D. W. Smyth, in the *Gazetteer*, informs us that the Garrison creek, "being improved with sluices, affords an easy access for boats to go up to the stores." At this time we also have Oxen advertised for in the *Gazette*, as wanted in connection with the canal at York. Mr. D. W. Smyth likewise suggests a work which was too bold to be attempted in 1796. He says a small

creek in the neighbourhood—was it the rivulet in the cemetery ravine?)—may, by means of a short dam, be thrown into all the streets of its town.

The opening up of the great northern road, known throughout its whole length as Yonge Street, was a matter of no slight moment to the trade and general interests of York. This was effected, in a rough way, as has already been once intimated, by Augustus Jones and his men. On the 4th day of January, 1796, he began the formal survey of the route, and the opening, as he writes, of “a cart-road from the harbour of York to Lake Simcoe.” On Saturday, the 20th of February, the work was completed. The entry in the energetic surveyor’s Journal on that day is: “Went to the Garrison, York, and waited on His Excellency, the Governor; and informed him that Yonge Street is opened from York to the Pine Fort Landing, Lake Simeoe.” The name “Yonge Street,” it may be well to add, was so named in honour of Sir George Yonge, Secretary at War, 1782–1794. He died at Hampton Court, Sept. 26th, 1812, aged 80; when the baronetage which he had inherited became extinct.

One structure erected by Governor Simcoe himself, at or near York, remained a visible reminder of his former presence, down to 1829. This was the building known as Castle Frank, on a steep declivity overlooking the valley of the Don. Its site was a few yards outside the northern boundary of St. James’s cemetery. Portions of a well-engineered bridle-road leading out to it from York can still be traced. The building, simply a summer-house of logs, carefully hewn and neatly fitted together, and then weather-boarded, was a private undertaking of the Governor’s, on land belonging nominally to his young son, Frank. It was never permanently occupied by the Governor or his family; but pleasant excursions were repeatedly made to it while in course of erection and afterwards, in boats up the Don, as well as by the bridle-road.

The little stream which is still to be heard pleasantly gurgling down in the deep ravine of the cemetery, was “Castle Frank brook.” The building was destroyed by fire in 1829. On a plan of the vicinity of York made by the Americans when in occupation of the place, Castle Frank is conspicuously marked. That buckwheat had been sown in the clearing round Castle Frank in 1796 we have curious evidence. Mr. George Playter, in a letter written from his house on the Don, on the site of the residence now known as Drumsnab, thus addresses Mr. McGill, Commissioner of Stores, in the peculiar phraseology of the religious society of which he was at that time a member:—“River Don, Sept. 24, 1796. Respected Friend,—If the buckwheat that is growing at Castle Frank

is to be disposed of, I shall be willing to buy it. It will be ripe in a few days; and as thou art going from home, it may suit to have it secured before thou returns, or it will be lost. Be pleased to send answer by the bearer, Sergeant Lydan. I am thine, respectfully, etc., George Playter." Mr. Playter had also aided in "sledding" from Isaiah Skinner's mill some of the lumber used in the construction of the chateau, as all may conclude from another characteristic letter addressed to Mr. McGill, which reads thus:—"Respected Friend,—Sergeant Lydan informs me thou art desirous I should sled some boards from Skinner's mill to Castle Frank. If I do, thou must pay me one quarter of a dollar for every hundred feet not exceeding one inch thick, which I may sled, as it is the customary price; and really it is worth it. I am thine to serve, etc., George Playter."

A pleasant reference to this Castle Frank occurs in a letter written by Mr. Russell at Niagara to Mr. McGill at York, in December, 1796. "I hope," says Mr. Russell, "that the ladies may be able to enjoy the charming carioling which you must have on your Bay, and up the Yonge Street road, and to the Humber, and up the Don to Castle Frank, where an early dinner must be picturesque and delightful." And here Mr. Russell's expressive "carioling," which has quite gone out of use among us, suggests a remark on the history of the term which has now universally taken its place. At the time of Mr. Russell's writing, "sleigh" and "sleighting," thus written, had not come fully into vogue. Major Rogers always writes "slay;" and in a MS. letter of Mr. Russell's, I observe "slaying" was first written by him; but the word is there corrected to "sleighting." Had the good old English surname "Sleigh" anything to do with the gradual transformation of "slay" to "sleigh?" Brougham, Stanhope and Buggy, we know, are proper names applied to vehicles. It was soon felt throughout this continent that "sledge," at all events, badly expressed the French *traineau* or *cariole*; and that "sledging" was quite inappropriate for locomotion on the ice or snow in swift, smoothly-gliding vehicles. "Sled," which was slightly better than "sledge," became appropriated to the plaything of boys, or to a cumbrous apparatus on runners used by lumbermen and farmers.

CHAPTER II.

YORK UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF PRESIDENT RUSSELL,
DOWN TO 1800.

N 1796, Lieutenant-Governor Simeoe was rather abruptly transferred from Upper Canada to a post in the West Indies. Important duty was assigned him in or about St. Domingo. It is believed that the United States authorities quietly communicated to the Home Government complaints of the bearing of his policy in this Province, and in regard to the surrounding Indian tribes, on the relations between the two countries. The Governor was frank, as we learn from Liancourt's narrative, in discovering his ideas and plans.

The conversations of the Duke on his return to Philadelphia, followed soon by his work, may have drawn particular attention to Governor Simeoe. General Simeoe, as we shall remember, had been actively and conspicuously engaged in the war of the Revolution, and the soreness occasioned by the conflict had not quite passed away. He was very outspoken sometimes in regard to the enemy of only a few years before. To a friend he had expressed the conviction that "an army of 10,000 men and a good navy could knock the United States into a nonentity." He did not believe in the permanence of the Union. The revolted territory might yet one day be under the sway of Great Britain. Even the contrast presented by the happy and dignified state of things which would speedily characterize Upper Canada, would, he thought, in time put many in the United States out of conceit with the republican system. Meanwhile it was expedient that the country should be put and kept in a good state of defence. The naval and military armament along the frontier should be efficient.

More than five years had elapsed since the Governor's appointment; and, according to a later rule, a translation to another sphere was to be expected. In many points of view, however, in the case of the first founder and organizer of the Province, a second term of office was very desirable. So that the change was more or less of a surprise to all concerned.

In the proclamation dated September 11th, 1796, issued by his temporary successor, Mr. Russell, the Governor's departure was set forth simply

as consequent on a royal leave of absence, thus:—"Whereas His Most Gracious Majesty has been pleased to grant his royal leave of absence to his Excellency Major-General Simeoe, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of this Province," therefore, the supreme power had now devolved on him, Peter Russell. The last Parliament presided over by Governor Simeoe was prorogued by him at Newark, or Niagara, on the 3rd of June, 1796. He had probably looked forward with pride to meeting the same body in the following year at York, where the Public Buildings were in progress. But this was not to be. Governor Simeoe may have been mistaken in his anticipations of the future of the United States; but he was statesmanlike and comprehensive in his views. He believed that he was laying the foundation, if not of a nation, of a great and important community. A letter of his addressed to Sir Joseph Banks, January 8th, 1791, before leaving England for Canada, displays so well what he hoped to effect in the vast wilderness which he was about to penetrate, that I will venture to transcribe some paragraphs from it. It will be seen that the founder of York, Upper Canada, was a man of enlightened mind, and that we at this day actually partake in many particulars of advantages which he consciously designed and pre-arranged that the inhabitants of this capital and the people of Upper Canada generally should enjoy.

"The liberality of your character, the high station you fill, and the public principles which I apprehend that you entertain, leave upon my mind no hesitation in communicating to you, confidentially, my views of the object which irresistibly impels me to undertake this species of banishment, in hopes that you will see its magnitude, and, in consequence, afford your utmost support to the undertaking." In this chivalrous strain he speaks of the undying regret which he feels for the loss of the revolted colonies, and of the hope which he cherishes of being able to help forward a peaceful reconciliation between them and the mother country. "I am one of those," he says, "who know all the consequence of our late American dominions, and do not attempt to hide from myself the impending calamity, in case of future war; because neither in Council, nor in the Field, did I contribute to their dismemberment. I would die by more than Indian torture to restore my King and his Family to their just inheritance, and to give my Country that fair and natural accession^{*} of Power which a union with their Brethren could not fail to bestow and render permanent. Though a Soldier, it is not by arms that I hope for the result. It is *volentes in populos* only that such a renewal of Empire can be desirable to his Majesty; and I think even now, (though I hold that the last supine five years, and

every hour that the Government is deferred detracts from our fair hopes)—even now, this event may take place." He next speaks of the physical situation of the proposed Province, and of the spot within it which he was intending to select as its capital. At this time, what afterwards became London was before his mind's eye, and the capital's name was to be "Georgina." We can see how carefully he had been studying his maps before setting out. For the purpose of commerce, union, or power, he says, "I propose that the site of the Colony should be in that great Peninsula between the lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, a spot destined by nature sooner or later to govern the interior world. I mean to establish a capital in the very heart of that country, upon the River La Tranche, which is navigable for batteaux, 150 miles, and near to where the Grand River which falls into Erie, and others that communicate with Huron and Ontario, almost interlock. The capital I mean to call Georgina; and am to settle in its vicinity Loyalists who are now in Connecticut, provided that Government approve of the system. . . Now, sir, not to trespass on your time" he continues, "you will see how highly important it will be that this Colony (which I mean to shew forth with all the advantages of British protection, as a better Government than the U. S. can possibly obtain) should in its very foundations provide for every assistance that can possibly be procured for the Arts and Sciences, and for every embellishment that hereafter may decorate and attract notice, and may point it out to the neighbouring States as a superior, more happy, and more polished form of government. I would not in its infancy have a hut, nor in its maturity a palace, built without this design." He thus speaks of a Public Library, of a kind of Royal Society, and of a College, which he hopes in time to establish:—"My friend, the Marquis of B——, has suggested that Government ought to allow me a sum of money to be laid out for a Public Library, to be composed of such books as might be useful to the Colony. He instanced the Encyclopaedia, extracts from which might occasionally be published in the newspapers. It is possible private donations might be obtained, and that it would become an object of Royal munificence. If any Botanical arrangement could take place [this would especially appeal to the sympathies of Sir Joseph,] I conceive it might be highly useful, and might lead to the introduction of some commodities in that Country, which Great Britain now procures from other nations. Hemp and Flax should be encouraged by Romulus." He regards himself, we see, as the founder of a state, as a Romulus. As to hemp, for a series of years, its cultivation was expected to be a source of much wealth to Upper Canada, the navy of Great Britain incessantly requiring rope. "In the literary way,

I should be glad to lay," he says, "the foundation of some Society that, I trust, might hereafter conduce to the extension of Science. Schools have been shamefully neglected; a College of a higher class would be eminently useful, and would give a tone of principles and of manners that would be of infinite support to Government." Finally, I subjoin a list of books, of which I possess a copy, contained in three cases forwarded to Navy Hall, in 1793, "for the use of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor." I take them to be, in part, at least, contributions from Sir Joseph Banks and other friends to intellectual progress in Upper Canada, in response to the suggestion in the letter above quoted. Among them is the very Encyclopaedia which the Marquis of B—— named as likely to prove useful. I take these books to be the first germs of a Public Library in Upper Canada. They were probably a portion of the spoil, when the Parliament Building at York was sacked in 1813. The collection referred to consisted of the following solid works: Encyclopaedia, thirty-five volumes; D'Anville's Atlas; Johnson's Dictionary, that volume folio; Universal History, sixty volumes; Receipts, Public Accounts, three volumes; Cook's last voyage, four volumes; Voyage to New South Wales; Palladio, five volumes; Hambury on Planting and Gardening, two volumes; Rutherford's Natural Philosophy, two volumes; Postlethwayte on the Deity, two volumes; Anderson on Commerce, six volumes; Campbell's Political Survey, two volumes; Guthrie's Geography, six volumes; Bonare's Dictionnaire et Histoire Naturelle, six volumes; Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, four volumes; Cary's English Atlas; Husbandry of the Midland, York and Norfolk Counties, six volumes.

Mr. Peter Russell was holding the reins of power in Upper Canada when Parliament met for the first time at York. That was on the first day of June, 1797. The summons to the members ran in the usual way: nominally as coming from the King himself, George III. And now for the first time we have the Upper Canadian York spoken of in old feudal fashion as a Royal Town; as "Our Town of York." The King (through Mr. Russell) "convokes, and by these presents enjoins you, and each of you, that on the first day of June, in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, you do meet Us in Our Provincial Parliament, in Our Town of York, for the actual dispatch of Public Business, and to take into consideration the state and welfare of Our Province of Upper Canada, and therein to do as may seem necessary."

Mr. Russell succeeded to the administration by virtue of his being the senior member of the Executive Council. He was a retired officer who had been on the staff of Sir Henry Clinton, as secretary, during the war

of the Revolution. His portrait, which is to be seen in the collection at the present Government House, shews him to have been a grave, thoughtful-looking, portly personage, somewhat of the mould of George Washington.

The projects of Governor Simcoe fell into abeyance, and the advance of the Province received a check. The prospects of York, for the moment, became gloomy. It was thought that now, probably, after all, the seat of government would not be removed thither. Newark might retain it, or it might be transferred to Kingston.

On the subject of the capital, however, the decision of the first governor was adhered to. The buildings for the accommodation of the legislature were proceeded with. For several weeks in succession the following advertisement appears in the *Gazette*: "Wanted immediately, for the Public Buildings at York, Carpenters. To such as are well qualified and industrious, good encouragement will be given, by applying to Captain A. Graham, or to the subscriber, John McGill, Commissioner of Stores, etc. York, July 23rd, 1796." These buildings consisted of modest Halls of brick, one for each of the legislative bodies. They were intended to be ultimately wings of a more imposing central structure. In the meantime a covered colonnade united the two edifices. Here, in June, 1797, Mr. Russell met the second Provincial Parliament in its second session. In the previous December he had been suggesting, from Niagara to friends at York, that preparations should be made for the reception of the members of Parliament. "As the Legislature is to meet at York," he says, "the 1st of June, it becomes absolutely necessary that provision shall be made for their reception, without loss of time. You will therefore be pleased to apprise the inhabitants of the town that twenty-five gentlemen will want lodgings and board during the session; which may possibly induce them to fit up their houses, and lay in provisions to accommodate them." He refers to the detached wings of the intended Government or Parliament House just spoken of, and says that "these at any rate must be got ready, the one for the Legislative Council, the other for the Assembly." The bars and tables and other articles of furniture already in use at Niagara for legislative purposes, he will direct to be sent over. "The house appropriated for the Legislative Council," he adds, "can be occasionally used as a Council Chamber."

During the course of Mr. Russell's suggestions of modes of meeting the expected increase in the population at York, Governor Simcoe's canvas house comes once more into view. It was left standing at York, but unoccupied, and requiring repairs. One half of it might be removed

down to the town, Mr. Russell thinks, "to be used there for giving dinners in, to the members of the two Houses; but it might be found cheaper and more commodious to put up a temporary building for this purpose, to consist of boards which might be used again." Should the canvas house not thus be utilized, he will offer it, with Major Smith's permission, as "quarters for the Chief Justice Elmsley and his friend, the Rev. Mr. Raddish." (Chief Justice Osgoode had been promoted to the Chief-Justiceship of Lower Canada.) Mr. Russell speaks of Chief Justice Elmsley as a man of business and method, who will not submit to idle procrastinations; and he (Mr. R.) "trembles" for a certain official at York who "ought to make haste to get the Council-book forward; but it still hangs in much the same situation as when you left it." Mr. Elmsley, it may be mentioned here, although the fact did not happen until 1798, built a family residence in York, which subsequently became, as in due course we shall learn, the Government House, or Lieutenant-Governor's residence, for Upper Canada. In the year just named, Mr. Elmsley signs a receipt, now before me, to John McGill, Commissary of Stores of War, etc., for Her Majesty's force, "for the following articles, supplied to him out of the said stores, by order of Mr. President Russell, which articles he obliges himself to replace by others of equal quality and quantity whenever the same shall be demanded: sixteen thousand 20 dy. (twenty-penny) nails, forty-five thousand 6 dy. nails, twenty-one pounds spikes, seventeen and a half thousand 20 dy. brads, forty-five and a half thousand 2 dy. brads, thirty-one and a half thousand 3 dy. brads, forty-three thousand 4 dy. brads, forty-four thousand 6 dy. brads, four jugs linseed, one runlet, two hundred twenty-and four pounds white lead, three pick-axes, six mattocks, two spades, four boxes fifteen by ten glass," etc.

The Government Offices were now transferred permanently to York. It was not, however, until November 5th, 1797, that Mr. Russell himself took up his abode there, in a house of his own, situated at the south-east corner of Princes Street and Palace Street; a building known by the romantic title of Russell Abbey in later times, when occupied by the family of Dr. W. W. Baldwin.

Among measures passed in the Parliament at York during Mr. Russell's term of office were acts for securing titles to land, and for supplying the want of enrolment of deeds of bargain and sale. The certain prospective good value of land in Upper Canada began now to be realized, and a strong passion for its acquisition had been roused. Great pressure was brought to bear on the Government to legalize claims of every sort, even

the most mythicall. Mr. Russell did his best in Council to secure just legislation on this subject. Certain memoranda left by him furnish us with some dramatic scenes at the Executive Council Board at York. A gentle passage of arms now and then occurred between himself and the Chief Justice. On one occasion the Chief proposed that "Certificates" should have the force of Deeds, under certain circumstances. "I should withhold the Royal Assent to such a measure, even if it should pass both Houses of Parliament," replied the President. "And as he (the Chief) was pleased to charge us all with counteracting the operation of an Act of Parliament, I desired him to say in what particular I had been guilty of so great an offence? He said he did not mean me, or allude to any part of my conduct." On December 6th, his entry is: "Confirmed all the recommendations of the Committee (of Council), except that for a deed in Mr. Farrand's name, for 10,000 acres. Which I must enquire into." It turned out that this recommendation was backed by the Chief Justice. The entry on the 8th is: "Confirmed the order to Farrand for 10,500 acres;" with the note added: "said to be purchased by him for the accommodation of the Chief Justice, who informed me that Capt. Pilkington paid him for his house with this land." Another petition presented was not so fortunate: "July 5. A petition is presented from Mr. Street, praying that a deed may issue for a very considerable quantity of land for the purchase of which from the original grantees he produced vouchers" Mr. Russell's answer now was, that there was a commission appointed to settle such matters; "and that consenting to petitions of this nature was sanctioning the accumulation of land in the persons of individuals, which we were ordered by His Majesty's instructions to do all in our power to prevent. However, I told the Board (addressing myself to the Chief Justice,) that if it had any particular wish to serve Mr. Street, I should readily concur with their determination. The Chief answered that he had no particular wish for his part; but it was his decided opinion that when *bona fide* purchases appear to have been made, the possession of the land ought to be secured to the purchaser. The petition was then referred to the commission." On March 7th, he, in Council, orders the U. E. list of the Western District claimants of land to be sent back, as several names were found in it not entitled to the privilege. Mr. Russell, it appears, was still Receiver-General, and his current accounts were audited as aforetime by the Executive Council. While this was being done, February 9th, the Chief Justice objected to a warrant being issued by him to pay the Attorney-General for travelling expenses in the Home and Western circuits, as he did not go the latter. "I told

him to note his objection at the foot of the accounts, and I should call upon the Attorney-General to refund the money. I desired, in the meantime, that he should be sent for to assign his reasons for calling upon me for this assistance. The Chief Justice answered: 'I must pardon him if he declined arguing the matter with the Attorney-General.' I told him that I certainly would not allow any arguing at that Board. The Attorney was to answer questions and assign reasons. On the Attorney's arrival I told him that his charge for the Western Circuit was objected to, as he did not attend that circuit. He answers that he had attended the Home Circuit, and had engaged a barrister to go that of the Western, whose expenses he should hold himself answerable for; but other avocations having prevented Mr. Stuart from accompanying the Judge on this circuit, Mr. Roe, the clerk of the Peace, (who had been long since empowered by the governor to act as counsel for the King in the absence of H. M. Law servants,) had acted for him, and was, of course, to be paid by him. With this answer he left the accounts before the Board."

As yet members of Parliament received no pay for attendance. A land grant to their wives in lieu thereof was suggested. We have the entry: "July 1st, 1797. Received from the Chief Justice five petitions, which he requested my permission to cover by 600 acres to the wives of members of Parliament." The President adds, "I expressed my doubts in answer, that the principle of such a donation was proper; as it might excite alarm in the people that their representatives were about to be bribed by Government." The proposal seems to have dropped. A year or two later an allowance was ordered to members, to be raised by local assessment.

We may detect in the discussions at the Council Board a little temper and techiness now and then. Manifestations of this sort were sure to occur in such a limited circle as was that of the high officials of York. No wonder that, in accordance with the traditional conventionalities of the time, duels should occasionally happen, on very frivolous grounds too. Thus, the opening of 1800 was sadly signalized by the death of the Attorney-General, referred to a few lines back, in a duel with Mr. Small.

Other measures, besides such as related to land, engaged the attention of the legislature at York during Mr. Russell's administration. We have Acts passed for "the securing the Province against the King's enemies," and for the regulation of the militia; for the incorporation of a Law Society; for the promotion of trade with the United States, by land and inland navigation; for the establishment of ferries; and for the increase of revenue by licenses to sell wine and spirits.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL HUNTER AT YORK.—HE INSTITUTES A PUBLIC MARKET THERE IN 1803.—DUKE OF KENT AT YORK IN THE SAME YEAR.

HEN Governor Simeoe was withdrawn, in 1796, the government of the Parent State had enough to occupy its attention near home. It was in that year that Napoleon Bonaparte appeared on the scene, startling the world by his military successes in Italy. Throughout Europe there was distress of nations with perplexity. What wonder that little effective heed should be immediately given to the wants of an infant colony so remote, so insignificant, as Upper Canada? However, a successor to the Lieutenant-Governor was at length found in the person of Lieutenant-General Peter Hunter, a gentleman of a Scottish family seated at Auchterard, in Perthshire. Of his previous life and of the theatre of his military achievements I can find no record. He arrived at York August 17th, 1799, and occupied quarters in the garrison. His reply to the address of the inhabitants on this occasion was as follows: "Gentlemen: Nothing that is in my power shall be wanting to contribute to the happiness and welfare of this colony." The brevity of the response was characteristic. Governor Hunter was a man of keen discernment, quick temper, and strong will. He wrote to a friend in London just after his arrival, "I was much gratified," he said, "by my reception in Upper Canada. All the members of the Executive Council are good men. But I can see," he adds, "that your friend P. R. is an avaricious one." Hunter's plainness of speech then appears, in a confidential remark on P. R. "So far as depended upon him, he would grant land to the devil and all his family as good loyalists, if they would only pay the fees." A remark to be taken with many grains of allowance. In the case of a list of alleged U. E. claims, Mr. Russell was, as we have seen, very careful.

While at Quebec, General Hunter was already meditating reforms in the Upper Provincee. Colonel Shank writes from on board the *La Topaze*, of Quebec, on his way to England from York, that "it is probable General Hunter may appoint to the auditor-generalship another person, as the office of receiver-general and it are incompatible." Colonel Shank further advises his friend thus: "Shew every attention in your power to General

Hunter and his family." Officials, civil and military, soon learned to stand in salutary awe of Governor Hunter. In the public departments there were arrearages of business. Extra hours of attendance appear to have been required. We read in a *Gazette* of 1803: "Notice is hereby given that regular attendance for the transaetion of the public business of the Province will in future be given at the office of the Secretary of the Province, the Executive Council office, and the Surveyor General's office every day in the year (Sundays, Good Friday and Christmas Day only excepted), from ten in the morning till three in the afternoon, and from five o'clock in the afternoon until seven in the evening. By order of the Lieut.-Governor : James Green, Secretary." The imprint on the fourth page of the *Gazette* is: "York : printed by Order of His Excellency General Hunter." "We hear that His Excellency has ordered the Parliament to meet on the 28th instant, for the actual despatch of business," is the language of the *Gazette* of May 16th, 1801.

It was to Governor Hunter that York was indebted for the first "Weekly Public Open Market" for the sale of cattle, sheep, poultry, and other provisions, goods and merchandize. It came into operation by Proclamation on the 5th of November, 1803. Four acres and a half of land were set apart for market purposes. The present St. Lawrence Market occupies a part of the eastern portion of this allotment.

Inconvenience having arisen from an insufficient supply of professional men qualified to carry on the work of the Courts, the Lieutenant-Governor was empowered by Parliament to authorize persons who should be found competent for such a purpose to practise, notwithstanding the absence of legal training. By Proclamation in 1803, Governor Hunter accordingly designated Dr. W. W. Baldwin, of York, William Dickson, of Niagara, and D'Arcy Boulton, of Augusta (son of the judge), and John Powell, of York (father of the Mayor), as fit and proper persons to practise the profession of the law, and act as advocates in the courts, after having been duly examined by the Chief Justice. Having sprung, Minerva-like, at once into being, in full professional maturity, without passing through any of the usual puny stages, these gentlemen were afterwards sometimes alluded to by less favoured brethren of the robe as the "heaven-descended" barristers.

York was visited in 1803 by the Duke of Kent. While there his quarters were at Oakhill, the residence of General Eneas Shaw. The Duke had paid a visit to Canada once before. Being at Halifax as Commander-in-chief of the Forces, he made an excursion to the Falls of Niagara, on which occasion he was entertained by Governor Simcoe at Navy Hall.

A private letter of the period, written at the Town of Niagara, mentions the Duke's departure from that place, rather unceremoniously, not to say cynically. "The Prince left us this morning," (Sept. 17th, 1792) the writer says, "for Quebec, to the great joy of all parties. The town was most brilliantly illuminated last evening in honour of His Royal Highness. Candles are so scarce a commodity that I did not follow the example of my neighbours."

At the close of the year 1803, as I learn from a paper of statistics collected by Mr. W. L. Mackenzie, the aggregate value of property in the town of York was £14,871, and the annual tax levied on the inhabitants by the magistrates of the County in Quarter Sessions was £62. The area enclosed by the town plot was 420 acres. The population consisted of 456 persons.

The Second Decade.

1804—1814.

CHAPTER I.

ST. JAMES'S CHURCH BUILT.—MR. STUART'S SCHOOL.—FOUNDERING OF THE SCHOONER "SPEEDY."—DEATH OF GOVERNOR HUNTER.—SUPPLIES OF YORK.—MUNICIPAL ARRANGEMENTS.

HE beginning of the Second Decade of York was marked by the completion and occupation of the ecclesiastical building which, seventy years later, developed into the noble cathedral-church of St. James, which now adorns Toronto. In 1803, a movement began, in the usual timid and doubting way, for the erection of a church edifice by subscriptions among the inhabitants. After many meetings, and much discussion as to the material of the building—whether it should be of stone, brick, or wood—wood was finally resolved upon. The amount to which the committee was to limit itself in its engagement was eight hundred pounds; but, in the first instance, it was to expend no more than six hundred pounds, if the sums subscribed and paid into the hands of the treasurers, together with the moneys that might be allowed by the British Government, should amount to so much.

A very plain barn-like structure of framed timber, forty feet by fifty, standing east and west, was the outcome. Chief Justice Elmsley, Mr. Russell, Mr. McGill, Dr. Macaulay, Mr. Chewett, and the two treasurers, Mr. Allan and Mr. Duncan Cameron, were the committee, with the clergyman, the Rev. G. Okill Stuart. The secretary to the committee was Mr. A. Maedonell. At the raising of the building a company of men from the garrison, by order of Colonel Sheaffe, the commandant, gave assistance. Mr. Stuart, afterwards Archdeacon Stuart of Kingston, was the son of the Rev. Dr. J. Stuart, clergyman at Kingston, 1788-1811. Mr. Stuart had recently been appointed missionary at York. Previously divine

service had occasionally been conducted in the north public building, near the mouth of the Don, chiefly by a layman, Mr. Cooper. The Rev. Mr. Raddish, the friend of Chief Justice Elmsley, a dimly-seen figure among the *dramatis personae* of primitive York, had disappeared from the scene. He probably did not take kindly to the generally rough condition of things in Upper Canada at the time. It was not until 1810 that the stumps were cleared away about the west front of the church, where the entrance was, and a portion of the church lot fenced in. The cost of the former service was £3 15s.; of the latter, £1 5s., for the five hundred rails required.

According to the theory of the period, not universally allowed however, this was the parish church of the place, and at the annual "Town Meetings" for municipal purposes, a church-warden was appointed on the part of the people for several years, and one by the incumbent of the church. At the town meeting, March 2nd, 1807, "D'Arey Boulton, Solicitor-General," was appointed church-warden by Mr. Stuart. This town meeting was held at "Gilbert's Tavern," but the proper title of the hostelry was the "Toronto Coffee House," as appears from Mr. Gilbert's advertisement in the *Gazette*, in which he informs his guests that he has recently moved across from the "Yellow House at Niagara." The ecclesiastical building completed in 1804 is usually spoken of in contemporary documents as "the church at York." The style and title of "St. James's Church" may not have been assumed until after the enlargement and renovation of the building in 1818. Mr. M. Smith, in his "Geographical View" of Upper Canada, published at Philadelphia in 1813, strips off all illusions in his account of York, by simply describing this church as a "Meeting house for Episcopalians." Subsequently, in 1807, Mr. Stuart, the incumbent of "the church at York," became also master of the Home District school in that town. His School Journal, or Day-book, now before me, opens with the statement that "an Act was passed into a Law by the Legislature of the Province of Upper Canada, to establish Public Schools in each and every District of the Province. His Excellency Governor Gore, through Major Halton, his secretary, was pleased to appoint me teacher of the District School in York in the Home District; the letter dated the 16th of April, 1807." On June 1st, the school opened. The terms appear to have been four dollars a quarter, with six York shillings for proportion of wood in the winter months. Daughters as well as sons out of most of the well-to-do families at York were admitted at the school, 1807-1811; but towards the latter date the young ladies, I think, somewhat fell off. In addition to other worthy citizens the following appear "in accompt" in Mr. Stuart's

book "for tuition and instruction" to their sons and daughters: William Jarvis for his son William, and his daughters Hannah, Eliza Anne and Maria; Stephen Jarvis for his sons George and William; Thomas Ridout for his son John and his daughter Mary; William Stanton for his sons Robert and William, and his daughters Charlotte and Margaret Anne; John Small for his sons James, Edward and Charles; D'Arcy Boulton for his sons James, George and Charles; William Chewett for his son Alexander; Allan MacNab for his son Allan; D. I. P. Gray for his sons John, Robert and James; Alexander Maedonell for his sons Peter and Angus; Miles Maedonell for his son Donald; Edward Hartney for his son Edward; John Detlor for his son George H.; Joseph Cawthra for his son William; Dr. Glennon for his sons Barney, Henry and Marshall.

But to return to 1804. In that year a gloom was cast over the whole community of York by the loss of the Government schooner, the *Speedy*, on Lake Ontario, with all on board. The worn-out, unseaworthy craft foundered off Presqu'Isle, near the carrying place of the Trent, during the night of October 8-9th. In addition to the commander, Captain Paxton, and crew, there perished on this occasion Judge Cochrane, Solicitor-General Gray, Mr. Angus Maedonell, Sheriff of York, Mr. Fish, the high-bailiff, and an Indian prisoner named Ogetonicut, about to be tried at Presqu'Isle for the murder of John Sharp; two interpreters, Cowan and Ruggles, several witnesses, Mr. John Stegman, land surveyor, and Mr. Jacob Herchmer, merchant of York; in all thirty-nine persons. All were more or less well known at York. Nine wives were made widows, and many children fatherless, by the disaster. Mr. Weekes, barrister, whose duty also called him to Presqu'Isle, at this time prudently decided to ride thither on horseback, in preference to going by boat, and so his life was saved. This Mr. Weekes, who succeeded the Mr. A. Maedonell lost on this occasion as representative in Parliament for Durham and Simcoe and the East Riding of York, was killed in 1806, in a duel, at Niagara. The Mr. Herchmer above mentioned was advertising in the *Gazette* of August 27th, 1801, for Ginseng. He offered two shillings, New York currency, for dried, and one shilling for green.

Society at York again received a shock in the following year. Tidings suddenly arrived that the Lieutenant-Governor, General Hunter, had died at Quebec (August 21st, 1805). Being Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, as well as Lieutenant-Governor, he was often called away from the capital to visit the military posts. A kind of standing commission of regency had been appointed to act during his absence, consisting of Mr. Russell, Chief Justice Elmsley, and General Æneas Shaw; and as substitute

for any or either of them, Mr. McGill. A letter from Major Green, at Quebec, to a friend at York, states the cause of death: "He had for some time weakened himself too much by a low regimen, which prevented the disease (gout) getting into the extremities as formerly." Governor Hunter met Parliament four times at York. Among the measures passed by his sanction were Acts for the more equal representation of the Commons of the Province; for making Cornwall, Johnstown, Newcastle, York, Niagara, Queenstown, Fort Erie, Turkey Point, Amherstburgh and Sandwich, ports of entry, with Collectors of Customs, "who are to have fifty per cent. on the duties, until the same amounts to £100; and then, no more;" for preventing the sale of spirituous liquors and strong waters among the Moravian Indians settled on the Thames; for the pay of the officers of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly; for allowing ten shillings per day to members of Parliament, to be levied by local assessment; for regulating the curing, packing and inspecting of beef and pork; and for the encouragement of the growth of hemp.

General Hunter was buried at Quebec. In the English cathedral there a mural tablet is seen, placed to his memory by his brother. No portrait has as yet been discovered of Governor Hunter, though diligent inquiries and search have been instituted, to add to the series at Government House, Toronto.

Some glimpses of demand and supply in respect of house-keeping and family requirements in York, at the beginning of its Second Decade, are afforded by such notices as the following, in the *Gazette* of that period. The primitive practice of barter and payment in kind still, as we shall see, to some extent prevailed. On the 8th of November, 1804, Mr. Quetton St. George closes an advertisement of his merchandize at York, with the N.B. that he "will take in payment, Furs, Flour, Butter and Cheese, provided the flour be in barrels, well packed and of good quality." The very miscellaneous sort of goods offered by Mr. St. George, and of course expected to be asked for by the people of York, runs as follows: "Hats, liquors, crockery and glass-ware, window-glass, nails, iron and steel, harnesses, collars, cart saddles, bridles, horse-bells, girths, long-reins, chalk, whitening, pipe-clay, curry-combs, flints, vermillion, cod-lines, fishing-lines, bed-cord, sheet-iron, snuff, hair-powder and starch, copper kettles, iron pots, padlocks and locks, hammers, pound-pins, basket-salt, noyeaux, ratafia, putty, pipes, coffee, brimstone, smoothing-irons, double stoves, ready-made carpets, rose blankets, cat-gut, black corduroy, black everlasting, black bombazeen, silk bandana handkerchiefs, black, blue and white satin ribbon, narrow do., black, blue and white China do., narrow do., white edging,

men's cravats, black and green gauze, plain muslin, muslin and linen cambrick, cambrick shawls with fringe, do. embroidered, elegant silk shawls, Italian silk, black lutestring, green satin, long lawn, table cloths, calieoes, green canvas for blinds, black silk handkerchiefs, men's and women's white worsted stockings, women's black and blue do., ladies' silk gloves, cotton do., East India sugar, candlewick, rosin, alum, copperas young Hyson and green teas, olives, anchovies, capers, patent yellow, weavers' reeds, isinglass, pearl barley, sago, slay-whips." On the 17th of the following May, another of Mr. St. George's advertisements appears, equally diversified with innumerable additions of other goods, including wines, spices, jewellery, cutlery, books. And in another, I notice shoes and slippers of every kind, and garden seeds in great variety; also, potash kettles, with the offer to receive pot and pearl-ash in payment.

Mr. Cameron, publisher of the York *Gazette* in March, 1809, addresses "country subscribers who are in arrears for the *Gazette* and advertisements inserted by desire," and requests of them "to leave, if convenient to them, the amount in any grain advertised to be purchased by Mr. St. George, at the places he proposes to receive grain in the country; a document from the miller or person in charge of the mill will oblige the subscriber: J. Cameron."

On the 3rd of June, 1805, the two bakers, François Baleour, and F. Marian, notify the public of York that, "on account of the present scarcity of Flour, they are under the disagreeable necessity of raising their Bread to eighteen-pence, New York currency, per loaf; not being able to afford it for less after this date." In the *Gazette* of September 28th, 1805, Mr. Robert Henderson, brewer at York, makes the following announcement: "Brewing business. The subscriber informs his customers and the Public in general, that he has commenced Brewing for the season; and is now ready to deliver Strong and Table Beer in barrels and half-barrels of good quality; and intends to begin brewing his Keeping Ale for the ensuing summer, in the course of next month; and pledges himself that more attention than ever shall be paid to the quality of his Keeping Beer." Germane to all this is Mr. Daniel Tiers's very John-Bull-like advertisement, several times repeated in 1808: "Beef Steak and Beer Houses. The subscriber informs his friends and the public that he has opened a House of Entertainment, next door east of Mr. Hunt's, where his friends will be served with victualling in good order, on the shortest notice, and at a cheap rate. He will furnish the best strong beer at eight-pence New York currency per quart, if drank in his house, and two shillings and six-pence New York currency per gallon, if taken out. As he intends to keep a constant

supply of racked beer, with a view not to injure the health of his customers, and for which he will have to pay cash, the very profits at which he offers to sell will put it out of his power to give credit, and he hopes none will be asked. N. B.—He will immediately have entertainment for man and horse."

The Town and Parish officers, elected at the annual Town Meeting held at Stoyell's Inn, York, on the 3rd of March, 1806, given in the *Gazette* of March 8th, were as follows:—"Ely Playter, town clerk; John Detlor and Ely Playter, assessors; Thomas Mosley, collector; Robert Henderson, town warden; Duncan Cameron, church-warden, appointed by the Rev. Mr. Stuart. Overseers of Highways and Fence-viewers—Benjamin Mosley, from Scadding's Bridge to Scarborough line; George Castner, from Bay Road to Don Mills; Thomas Hamilton, from the East part of the Town of York to the Don Bridge; Eliphalet Hale, for the West part of the Town of York to the Garrison; Benjamin Davis, for the Humber Road; Jesse Ketchum, from No. 1 to half the Big Creek Bridge on Yonge Street; William Marsh, junior, from half the Big Creek Bridge to No. 17 on do.; Abraham Johnson, from No. 16 to No. 25 on do.; William Jones for the West end, and George W. Post for the East end, of Scarborough; Levi Devines for the North part, and Joseph Ogden for the South part, of Etobicoke; John Barry for the Mill or Upper Road in do. Pound-keepers—Isaac Collombes for the Town of York; William Marsh for Yonge Street; Jacob DeLong for the Humber; Andrew Thompson, senior, for Scarborough; Daniel Stuart for Etobicoke. Agreed by a majority of the inhabitants that hogs shall run at large in the country. Fences to be five feet high, with stakes and riders, and no more than a space of four inches between the rails, to the height of three feet of the same."

CHAPTER II.

COMMODORE GRANT'S PRESIDENCY.—NATURAL PHILOSOPHY
AT YORK.

MR. ALEXANDER GRANT, who, by an understood rotation in the Executive Council, now became temporary governor, was an interesting character. Hitherto military officers had been at the head of affairs. A sailor now took the helm. Mr. Grant had been at sea in his youth: first, in the merchant service, and then in a man-of-war, as midshipman. In 1757 a Highland regiment was being raised for service in America, and he received a commission in it. He now came under the command of General Amherst, afterwards Lord Amherst. When the expedition against Canada moved northwards, ships were required on the lakes for transport. Mr. Grant, as having naval experience, was put in command of a sloop of sixteen guns. He thenceforward continued to be connected with the naval service, and was generally spoken of in Canada as Commodore Grant. He died in 1813 at his old farm at Grape Point, above Detroit, leaving an only son, Colonel Grant, of Brockville. Mr. Joseph Woods, some time M.P. for Kent, and Mr. Robert Woods, Q.C., of Chatham, were grandsons. When there existed in Upper Canada such high officials as Lieutenants of Counties, Mr. Grant was Lieutenant of the County of Essex. I do not observe that any local names on the map of Ontario have been derived from the commodore.

During the short administration of Mr. Grant, a very creditable measure which, it is pleasant to think, originated with him, was passed by the Parliament at York. The modern zeal for the initiation of Canadian youth in natural sciences was thereby anticipated by at least fifty years. On the 3rd of March, 1806, the sum of four hundred pounds was voted for the purchase of "certain apparatus for the promotion of science." The preamble of the Act set forth in naïve style that "it is of importance to the welfare of this Province that the rising generation may be furnished with the means of such instruction as may render them useful members of the community." The apparatus was to consist of "a collection of instruments suitable and proper for illustrating the principles of

Natural Philosophy, Geography, Astronomy, and the Mathematics." The Governor was empowered "to deposit the said instruments, under certain conditions, in the hands of some person employed in the education of youth in this province, in order that they may be as useful as the state of the province will permit." This last provision of the Act may have been inspired from Cornwall. It is certain that these instruments were in the custody of Dr. Strachan after his removal from Cornwall to the head-mastership of the District School at York; and, doubtless, many other persons in Upper Canada, besides the present writer, received from these very instruments, when deposited in that institution, their first impressions of an air-pump, an electrical machine, and the various ingenious contrivances for illustrating the laws of motion, the elasticity of bodies, the equal velocity of light and heavy substances falling in a vacuum, and so on. To anticipate for a moment: a *Gazette* of the year 1818 had in its columns the following advertisement:—"Natural Philosophy—The subscriber intends to deliver a course of popular lectures on Natural Philosophy, to commence on Tuesday the 17th inst., at 7 o'clock p.m., should a number of auditors come forward to form a class. Tickets of admission for the course (price Two Guineas) may be had of William Allan, Esq., Dr. Horne, or at the School-house. The surplus, if any, after defraying the current expenses, to be laid out in painting the District School. John Strachan, York, 3rd of February, 1818." It was at that period, probably, that means were supplied for giving to the exterior of the District School-house that memorable azure hue which caused it to be so familiarly spoken of for long years afterwards as "the old Blue School," by those who had once occupied—and helped to carve—the benches within its walls. The window-frames and corner-finishings of the building were painted white. The church, just across the road, was painted in exactly the same hues. The débris of this historical collection of philosophical instruments may still be viewed at Upper Canada College. It may be added that in the Memoir of Dr. Strachan, by the late Bishop Bethune, it is stated that, at one time, he was about to be appointed demonstrator for the eminent Dr. Brown, when delivering his lectures as Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow.

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNOR GORE ARRIVES.—ADDRESSES OF WELCOME.—HE MEETS PARLIAMENT AT YORK.

N 1806, Governor Hunter's successor in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Upper Canada arrived. Extracts from correspondence of the period will inspire more interest in the events of the day at York and elsewhere in the Province than a mere narrative. The *Gazettes* and other printed documents will also furnish some incidents.

Captain Green, late military secretary to Governor Hunter, writes from Quebec to his friend Mr. McGill, at York, 26th of May, 1806, thus: "You will have heard that Mr. Francis Gore, Lieutenant-Governor of Bermuda, is appointed to Upper Canada; but we have as yet no Commander-in-Chief named." Then, on the 7th of July, he writes again; and after treating of some other things, he adds: "Although late, I must not omit to mention hastily that the Lieutenant-Governor's baggage arrived this forenoon in the brig *Unicorn*, from Bermuda: himself was to take his passage to Halifax in the *Triton* frigate, from whence, how he may come to Quebec I cannot say." On the 14th, however, Captain Green's words are: "I have to announce to you the arrival here of Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Gore, and a Major Halton, his secretary, on the 12th instant, from Halifax, in the *Driver* sloop-of-war. They landed at one o'clock, yesterday, under a salute of thirteen guns, from each of the men-of-war, and from the guns of the Grand Battery." He then adds two items which he knew would interest the fashionable circle at York: "They have no children," he remarks: "Mrs. Gore is a relation of Lord Fitzwilliam, one of the Ministry in England, and of the Lieutenant-Governor of Halifax." On the 11th of July he writes to his friend McGill thus: "I have by the last post informed you of the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor, since which I have had a great deal of confidential communication with him, during which I took an opportunity of recommending you and our friend Scott in the warmest terms; and you will find yourselves with him in the same situation precisely as with Governor Hunter, whose system of administration he seems perfectly inclined to follow in all respects. From appearance, I think you will all be very happy with him. His manners are so well-bred

and candid that you must like him." He then again, for the benefit of the ladies at York, adds some items of information; and we get a glimpse of the Governor's wife and her surroundings: "If you and Mrs. McGill are fond of monkeys, marmosets, pet-dogs and cats, you will soon have a fine importation of those species from Bermuda. Mrs. Gore," he remarks, "appears further advanced in age than the Lieutenant-Governor. She is a chatty, well-bred woman." Then, on the 31st, the departure of the new Governor for the Upper Province is announced: "Lieutenant-Governor Gore having left Lachine this morning, you will probably receive this letter by his arrival. Pray give my best respects to the Chief," (Chief Justice Scott), he continues, "and tell him I should have dropped him a line to-day also, had I anything to say, except that we cannot learn a syllable of Mr. Chief Justice Allecock's movements: they are slow for certain." In his letter by the next mail, Captain Green takes for granted that the new Governor has arrived at York, and he anticipates the happy influence of his "amiable manners" on affairs in Upper Canada generally. "Of course, I may congratulate you," he says, "on the safe arrival of your Lieutenant-Governor, whose amiable manners will, I think, conciliate the various points that have hitherto been in opposition, to that cordiality which must ever reign in societies well regulated. How happy should I be to hear such were the effects of the first acts of his administration." In September, in reply to a communication from York, Captain Green writes: "It gives me very sincere satisfaction to find that the Lieutenant-Governor is so well liked. I trust he will put the axe at once to the root of the tree of discord and anarchy, which lately has raised its head amongst you; that done, you will succeed well and prosper." The allusions will be presently explained.

Addresses of welcome in the usual strain came in from all quarters on Governor Gore's arrival at York. Among them was one from the inhabitants of the Quaker settlement, on Yonge Street, given in the *Gazette*. They salute him as "Francis Gore, Governor of Upper Canada;" and among other things they say, "We are concerned for thy welfare and the prosperity of the Province; hoping thy administration may be such as to be a terror to the evil-minded, and a pleasure to them that do well. Then will the Province flourish under thy direction, which is the earnest desire and prayer of thy sincere friends." The memorandum is added: "This address was read and approved in Yonge Street monthly meeting, held the eighteenth day of the ninth month, 1806: Nathaniel Pearson, clerk; Timothy Rogers and Amos Armitage, delegates."

On the 2nd of February, 1807, Governor Gore met the Parliament at York, and on the 10th of the following March he prorogued it, after assent-

ing to twelve Acts, one of which provided for a public school in each of the eight districts, with £100 a year for the master. The appliances for occasions of state were still homely at York. On the day before the prorogation we have the Governor writing to Mr. McGill for the loan of his carriage. "My dear sir," he says, "I am rather at a loss for a conveyance to the House to-morrow. I shall therefore be very much obliged to you, to lend me your horse and chair to-morrow morning." A proper vehicle for the Governor's use was afterwards imported by way of New York.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POWERS AT YORK ACT LIKE POWERS ELSEWHERE.—REACTION.
JUDGE THORPE.—A LIGHTHOUSE BUILT ON GIBRALTAR POINT.

OVERNOR GORE had expected to carry on the administration of Upper Canada precisely on the lines adopted by Governor Hunter. But during Commodore Grant's rule, a reaction against Governor Hunter's high-handedness had set in throughout the country. A constitutional opposition party was everywhere forming, the significance of which Governor Gore and most of the members of his Government were slow to see. The third estate of the community of Upper Canada, the farmers, artisans and others, had become numerous, powerful, and intelligent, and were disposed to speak out. As in other quarters of the world, the first and second estates had fallen into the habit of regarding the third estate as simply existing for the supply of hands and revenue. The third estate now demanded more control over the funds which they, by the sweat of their brows, were chiefly instrumental in raising. Many new settlers in the country and transient visitors espoused the popular side; and even in the official ranks, especially in the case of several functionaries lately appointed, champions of the third estate began to appear. Among these were Mr. Justice Thorpe, Mr. Sheriff Willeocks, and Mr. Surveyor-General Wyatt.

In reply to an address from the Grand Jury of the London District in 1806, the new Judge, Mr. Thorpe, made the following curious and caustic

remarks, having reference manifestly to the late Lieutenant-Governor Hunter and his rule : "The art of governing is a difficult science. Knowledge is not instinctive, and the days of inspiration have passed away. Therefore, when there was neither talent, education, information, nor even manners, in the Administration, little could be expected, and nothing was produced. But there is an ultimate point of depression, as well as of exaltation, from whence all human affairs naturally advance or recede. Therefore, proportionate to your depression, we may expect your progress in prosperity will advance with accelerated velocity." The Grand Jury had spoken approvingly of the fact that the new Governor (Gore) was a civilian. Judge Thorpe coincides, and proceeds thus :—"I shall lay before the Governor everything you desire ; and I have not the slightest doubt but that I shall find in him such power of mind, such political acquirements and official habits, and such good dispositions, as are fitted to make an infant province a permanent state, wealthy and powerful, abounding in blessings to the inhabitants, and so valuable to that great Empire from which we receive everything estimable, and to which we are anxious to make the most grateful return."

The striking portrait which may be seen in Government House enables us to understand Governor Gore. We have before us evidently a typical gentleman of the later Georgian era; a "counterfeit presentment," as it might easily be imagined, of the Prince Regent himself; one likely to be beloved by friends and boon companions for his good-natured geniality; but not a personage in whom we should expect to find statesmanship of a modern philosophic order.

The popular party and its advocates really meant no ill to England or the crown of England. All they desired was to secure the recognition of individual rights, and the reality of the constitution of which they had the shadow. The Governor and his friends, however, would not suffer any criticism on their measures. Every expression of dissatisfaction was set down as disaffection, treason, rebellion. Mr. Willecocks and Mr. Wyatt were speedily removed from office, and Judge Thorpe was disposed of not long afterwards. There is this to be said apologetically for the authorities at York, that they were simply following the example of their betters in the old country. The relation of Governors and governed in Upper Canada were similar to those which, for the most part, at the time subsisted at home and throughout Europe; and the improvement of those relations had only just begun there as well as here.

In a letter written to Mr. McGill from Kingston, when on his way to Montreal, we have a sample of the strong language which the Governor

was wont to make use of, jocosely perhaps, but not the less indiscreetly, in regard to the Opposition of the day. We have in the letter hints, incidentally, of the horrors of the passage between York and Kingston; hints also of some of the civilizing processes which the Governor expected to see adopted by the judges in the several districts of the province, when on circuit.

"We arrived here yesterday," writes the Governor, "after a passage of forty-eight hours. Mrs. Gore suffered very much from sickness, and the gallant major (Halton) was near giving up the ghost. As for myself, I was never more hearty in my life. I received most sincere satisfaction in finding that our good and worthy friend the Chief Justice (Scott) had got on very well; that at Newcastle the jury was respectable, and approved of their judge; not one word being uttered respecting that execrable monster who would deluge the province with blood." This, of course, was Will-eoeks, who, after having been deprived of the Shrievalty of the Home District, had audaciously set up, in this very year 1807, an Opposition newspaper, *The Upper Canada Guardian, or Freeman's Journal*, the lavish circulation of which is presently referred to. "At Kingston," the Governor says, "everything went off as might have been expected, well; the Chief entertaining a party of about forty at dinner; and report says he plied them well with the Tusean grape. A number of the rebel papers were distributed to poison the minds of the people," he observes, "but, I hope, without effect. . . . The object of Mr. T.'s emissions" (Mr. T. is Judge Thorpe, and his emissions would be his charges to juries and his speeches in the House and elsewhere) "appear to be, to persuade the people to turn every gentleman out of the House of Assembly. However," the Governor adds, "keep your temper with the raseals, I beseech you. I shall represent everything at St. James'," i.e., headquarters in London. And there accordingly, everything was so effectually represented, that in the York *Gazette* of the following October there was authority for the following paragraphs:—"His Majesty's pleasure has been received by the Lieutenant-Governor to suspend Mr. Thorpe from the office of judge in Upper Canada; and measures are to be taken for appointing a successor. The Secretary of State has also signified to the Lieutenant-Governor His Majesty's approbation of his having suspended Mr. Wyatt from the office of Surveyor-General of Lands in this province."

Some notices of material progress at York, in which Governor Gore exhibited a laudable interest, must now be given. In 1807 the Blue Hill on Yonge Street, just north of York, was being cut down and made more passable for teams coming into the town. "A number of public-spirited

persons," the York *Gazette* reports, "collected on last Saturday to cut down the hill on Frank's creek (Castle Frank Brook, which here crosses Yonge Street), and while thus engaged, they were agreeably surprised by a messenger from the Lieutenant-Governor, bringing with him a donation of fifty dollars towards the work." For acts like this the Governor was pleasantly famous.

In 1808, £1,600 had been voted by Parliament for roads and bridges in the province. In 1809, tenders were asked for in the York *Gazette* from "any person or persons disposed to contract for building a bridge over the Low Lands adjoining the Don Bridge." This resulted in the high-raised tressel bridge which preceded the existing solid embankment.

In 1806 we have reference made to a Float over the mouth of the Don. The *Gazette* admonishes the public not to make use of it for heavy draught. It was simply intended as an accommodation to equestrians and pedestrians who desired to take recreation on the Island. In 1806, tenders were advertised for from persons who would contract "to open the road between York and the Head of the Lake." In 1804 an advertisement of the same tenor had appeared. Possibly two different routes were referred to.

In 1809 the House of Assembly provided in the estimates for a Lighthouse on Gibraltar Point, at York. Accordingly, in that year we have the Governor crossing over to fix upon the best situation for such a structure. Major Halton writes hurriedly to Mr. McGill at eight o'clock in the morning: "The Lieutenant-Governor is going over to Gibraltar Point to examine where it may be most advisable to build a Lighthouse." Mr. McGill is to send the keys of the King's store-houses at the Point immediately, as His Excellency wants, when over there, to look into them. "We expect to be back again about one o'clock."—Curiously, while Governor of the Bermudas, Mr. Gore had been instrumental in the erection of the first important lighthouse in that group of islets. The Lighthouse at Gibraltar Point, which yet casts afar its bright beams over bay and lake, during the season of navigation, thus becomes not only a reminder of a quondam notable ruler of Upper Canada, but also a link of association to the thoughtful and imaginative, between the now much-frequented, wave-washed, sandy precinct where it stands, and Shakspeare's "still-vex'd Bermoothes."

CHAPTER V.

DEATH OF PRESIDENT RUSSELL.—MAJOR-GENERAL BROCK.—DR. STRACHAN REMOVES TO YORK.

AN incident not to be passed over, in the annals of York, in 1808, is the death of ex-President Russell. An extended account of the funeral is given in the York *Gazette* of October 8th, 1808. Governor Gore was present. Mr. Russell's large accumulation of property passed to his maiden sister, Miss Elizabeth Russell, and from her, a few years later, mainly to Dr. William Warren Baldwin. In 1806, Mr. Russell was endeavouring to dispose of two of his slaves. The following very plain, unvarnished kind of advertisement meets the eye in several successive numbers of the *Gazette* in that year : "To be sold, A Black Woman, named Peggy, aged about forty, and a Black boy, her son, named Jupiter, aged about fifteen years, both of them the property of the subscriber. The woman is a tolerable cook and washerwoman, and perfectly understands making soap and candles. The boy is tall, and strong of his age; and has been employed in country business, but brought up principally as a house servant. They are each of them servants for life. The price for the woman is one hundred and fifty dollars; for the boy two hundred dollars, payable in three years, with interest from the day of sale, and to be properly secured by bond, etc. But one-fourth less will be taken in ready money. York, Feb. 19, 1806. Peter Russell."

Not until twenty-five years after the 9th of July, 1793, did the system of slavery legally expire at York and elsewhere in Upper Canada. Mr. Secretary Jarvis, Mr. Solicitor-General Gray, and others at York had slaves. A "body-servant," who went down with Mr. Gray in the *Speedy* was a negro slave.

A memorial of Mr. Russell remains on the map of Ontario in the name of the County of Russell. Admiral Baldwin's villa to the north of Toronto was originally known as Russell Hill, and Mr. Russell's farm on the north side of Queen Street, a little west of Beverley Street, was "Peter's field," and the present "Peter" street led up to it. The block on which Upper Canada College is built is "Russell Square," on a plan

dated prior to 1799. Mr. Russell belonged to an Irish branch of the Bedford Russells, but he appears to have studied in England, and at the University of Cambridge. His copy of Beletot's *Dictionnaire Portatif de l'Ingenieur*, printed at Paris in 1755, now in my possession, has in his own handwriting the following inscription : " E. Libris Petri Russell, Cant. Alumn. Divi Johannis," implying that was a "Johnian," i.e., a member of St. John's College in Cambridge. He was a man, it may be added, of scientific tendencies. He formed a large mineralogical collection. An isolated building on his premises at the corner of Princes and Palace Streets was fitted up as a regular chemical laboratory ; and so assiduous was he in the researches and experiments carried on there in complete solitude, that, as in Roger Bacon's case aforetime, a suspicion of devotion to magic and necromancy was actually attached to him in the minds of some.

In Governor Gore's speech at York at the opening of Parliament in 1809 was the following ominous passage : " Hitherto we have enjoyed tranquillity, plenty and peace. How long it may please the Supreme Ruler of Nations thus to favour us is wisely concealed from our view. But under such circumstances it becomes us to prepare ourselves to meet every event, and to evince by our zeal and loyalty that we know the value of our constitution, and are worthy of the name of British subjects." Storms and tempests had been raging throughout the political atmosphere over the whole of Europe ever since 1783. Now a black thunder cloud detached from that quarter seemed moving towards Upper Canada. Under Napoleon's instigation, Mr. Madison's government in the United States, at this juncture, conceived the idea of becoming possessed of the whole of the North American Continent, restoring, perhaps, for a season at least, the French portion of Canada to the protectorate of France. Now was the time ! England's hands were fully employed. Pretexts of quarrel with England were therefore eagerly seized, in spite of England's earnest efforts to remain at peace with her near kith and kin. Governor Gore was not a fighting man. In 1811 leave of absence from his province was granted him ; and after closing the session at York for that year, he withdrew with his good amiable lady and her menagerie of pets to England, where they arrived safely at Torquay on the 11th of December, 1811.

Major-General Brock now appears on the scene. Just before the departure of the Gores from York, Major-General Brock spent some days with them very pleasantly. He thus writes to his brother in Guernsey from Fort George : " I returned recently," he says, " from York, the capital of the Province, where I passed ten days with the Governor, as gen-

erous and honest a being as ever existed. His lady," he proceeds to say, "is perfectly well-bred and very agreeable. I found ample recompense in their society for the inconvenience of travelling over the worst roads I ever met with." He mentions a particular which would be of special interest to a Guernsey man. "The Governor," he says, "was formerly quartered with the 44th in Guernsey, and recollects vividly the society of those days."

In all his letters, Brock spoke in the most friendly manner of Governor Gore. In a despatch to Sir George Prevost, successor to Sir James Craig, he refers the new Governor-in-chief to former communications of Governor Gore to his predecessor, for a "correct view of the temper and composition of the militia and Indians." He speaks of the fact that Governor Gore had "revived the Glengarry Fencibles." He also lauds the "strict economy which Governor Gore constantly bestowed on the expenditure of the public money." Brock, it appears, once crossed the lake from Niagara to York in a canoe, with Governor Gore. We find him demurring to an item of £20 in an account, as his share of the expense of the expedition. As it had been undertaken in the way of duty, he thinks it is a fair "public charge."

The removal of the Rev. Dr. John Strachan from Cornwall to York, in 1812, is an occurrence memorable in the annals of that place, and of Upper Canada generally. General Brock, wishing to have at the head of ecclesiastical affairs in the capital of the Province a man of spirit, of force, and of good business capacity and habits, exerted himself to effect the settlement of Dr. Strachan in York. The mettle of the new-comer was soon put to the test. Throughout the three years' war, Dr. Strachan's whole energies were devoted to rousing and sustaining the courage of the people, and to the aid and sustenance of the wounded, the sick, and the captured. More than once was he in peril of his life, while interposing in defence of fellow-townsmen against plunder at the hands of the soldiery in possession. The subsequently famous "Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada" was organized chiefly through his influence. This association guaranteed provision for the widows and orphans of the militia, for the wounded and maimed, and for those who suffered total loss of home and effects in the war. It also proposed to distinguish marked acts of courageous conduct by the presentation of a medal—a portion of its plan not carried into effect, from the difficulty ultimately experienced in deciding who should be recipients; although the medal was designed and struck.

CHAPTER VI.

WAR DECLARED BY THE UNITED STATES.—CANADA INVADED.—BROCK'S PROMPT ACTION AT YORK, AT LONG POINT, AT AMHERSTBURG, AT DETROIT.—RETURNS TO YORK.—FALLS WHILE REPEL-LING A SECOND INVASION.



GENERAL BROCK met Parliament twice at York: first, just before the declaration of war; and again, in a special session, immediately after the declaration. His speeches on these occasions, and the proclamations issued under his authority, had a powerful effect. His was a character which created confidence and called forth enthusiasm.

“ Even to the dullest peasant in his camp
His spirit lent a fire.”

Here are moving words, addressed to the House in his last speech: “ When invaded by an enemy whose avowed object is the entire conquest of the Province, the voice of loyalty, as well as of interest, calls aloud to every person, in the sphere in which he is placed, to defend his country. Our militia have heard that voice, and have obeyed: they have evinced in the promptitude and loyalty of their conduct that they are worthy of the king whom they serve, and of the institutions which they enjoy; and it affords me particular satisfaction in that, while I address you as legislators, I speak to men who, in the day of danger, will be ready to assist, not only with their counsel, but with their arms.” And again: “ We are engaged in an awful and eventful contest. By unanimity and despatch in our councils, and by vigour in our operations, we may teach the enemy this lesson, that a country defended by free men, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their king and constitution, can never be conquered.” In the counter-proclamation to that of the invader, Hull, is a stern and wholesome admonition to any who might waver in their allegiance: “ Every Canadian freeminer is by deliberate choice bound by the most solemn oaths to defend the monarchy as well as his own property. To shrink from that engagement is a treason not to be forgiven. Let no man suppose that if, in this unexpected struggle, His Majesty’s arms

should be compelled to yield to an overwhelming force, the Province will be eventually abandoned. The endeared relations of its first settlers, the intrinsic value of its commerce, and the pretensions of its powerful rival (France) to repossess the Canadas, are pledges that no peace will be established between the United States and Great Britain and Ireland, of which the restoration of these provinces does not make the most prominent condition."

When the certainty of hostilities first became known, General Brock was at York. Within a few hours, two companies of the 41st Regiment, then in garrison here, were despatched in boats to Fort George; whither also, after he had held a Council and issued a summons for a special session of the Legislature, he himself repaired, crossing the lake in an open boat, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, Captain Glegg.

Some months before the declaration of war, Brock had formed his plans for the defence of Upper Canada. Thus he wrote from York to Colonel Baynes, Adjutant-General at Quebec, February the 12th: "I set out with declaring my full conviction that unless Detroit and Michilimackinac be both in our possession immediately at the commencement of hostilities, not only the district of Amherstburg, but most probably the whole country as far as Kingston, must be evacuated. How necessary, therefore, to provide effectually the means of their capture."

In accordance with these tactics, on the 26th of June he sends orders to Captain Roberts, of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, in command at Fort St. Joseph, to possess himself of Michilimackinac; a service bravely performed on the 17th of July. Five days previous to that date, namely, on the 12th of July, General Hull had crossed with 2,500 men, at Sandwich, expecting an instant submission on the part of the inhabitants. Colonel Proctor, of the 41st Regiment, was sent forward to reinforce and take command at Amherstburg, the post now especially threatened, and the assurance was circulated that Brock himself would follow immediately. All this, together with the almost complete absence of any signs of welcome, brought it to pass that by the 8th of August the invading forces were withdrawn to their own side of the river.

On the 6th of August, Brock, in person, starts from York for Amherstburg, accompanied by one hundred volunteers from the militia of the York garrison. He proceeds now, not by Niagara, but by Burlington Bay, and along the old Grand River Portage to Long Point. Here was the rendezvous of a moderate force, consisting of three hundred men, regulars and militia. Embarking in boats, they pushed westward under the lee of the north shore of Lake Erie. On the 12th, they are off Point aux Pins. On

the 13th, they are at their destination. Here some Indians, under Tecumseh, join them. The enemy having retired, the capture of his stronghold at Detroit is decided on and planned. On the 16th the assault takes place, and the result ensues of a surrender of Hull and his whole force.

Of all gala days hitherto witnessed at York, the 17th of August, 1812, was the most bright and exhilarating. On that day Brock arrived there after his great success. Only nineteen days had elapsed since his closing speech to the Parliament. Probably no salute from the garrison hailed his approach on the occasion. The article of powder was too precious, and too essential for real uses, to be idly wasted. The omission was made good a few weeks later, when the Tower-guns of London were fired in honour of his exploit. All York felt precisely as Mr. Justice Powell wrote to Brock on the spur of the moment: "I shall hardly sleep until I have the satisfaction of hearing particulars of the wonderful excursion, for it must not be called a campaign. The *veni, vidi, vici* is again the faithful report. Your good fortune in one instance is singular; for if your zeal had been thwarted by such adverse winds as frequently occur on the lake, the armistice might have intercepted your career. That it did not, I heartily thank God, and pray that nothing may occur to damp the entire satisfaction of yourself and family in the glory so well earned."

The contrast deprecated by Judge Powell was, alas! destined soon to follow. If the 27th of August was the most joyous day, the 15th of the next October was the saddest ever yet experienced at York. On that day schooners and sloops were entering the harbour, their decks swarming with the nine hundred and fifty prisoners of war taken at Queenston; but bringing also the altogether staggering intelligence that Brock, though victorious, had fallen. "Push on the York volunteers!" had been the last order on his lips, followed, after receiving the fatal shot, by the request that no notice should be taken of his fall, lest the advance, which was in vigorous progress, should be checked. The revulsion from a state of elation to one of extreme depression in the public mind at York and throughout Canada is left to the imagination.

What was finely said by the Quebec *Gazette* of Brock, and the public feeling at Quebec on the occasion of his fall, was true to the letter also at York: "His long residence in the province, and particularly in this place, made him in habits and good offices almost a citizen; and his frankness, conciliatory disposition, and elevated demeanour, an estimable one. The expressions of regret, as general as he was known, and not uttered by friends and acquaintance only, but by every gradation of class, not only by grown persons, but young children, are the test of his work. Such,

too, is the only eulogium worthy of the good and brave, and the citizens of Quebec have, with solemn emotions, pronounced it on his memory." The distinguished words, too, of Earl Bathurst to Sir George Prevost, written of the impression made in England by the loss just sustained, will express what all felt and thought at York: "This would have been sufficient to cloud a victory of much greater importance. His Majesty has lost in him not only an able and meritorious officer, but one also who, in the exercise of his functions of provisional Lieutenant-Governor, displayed qualities admirably adapted to awe the disloyal, to reconcile the wavering, and to animate the great mass of the inhabitants against successive attempts of the enemy to invade the province, in the last of which he unhappily fell, too prodigal of that life of which his eminent services had taught us to understand the value."

The greater loss, of course, for the moment overshadowed all the lesser ones arising out of the engagement on Queenston Heights, which individuals and families were called to deplore at York and elsewhere. Among these, in particular, the fall of the youthful Attorney-General of the province, John Macdonell, deeply affected a wide circle. Acting as provincial aide-de-camp to the General, in his capacity of a lieutenant-colonel of the Canadian militia, he received his death wound by the side of Brock on Queenston Heights. "He fell," as in the standard Memoir of Brock it is stated, "while gallantly charging, with the hereditary courage of his race, up the hill, with one hundred and ninety men, chiefly of the York Volunteers, by which charge the enemy was compelled to spike the 18-pounder and the battery there; and his memory will be cherished as long as courage and devotion are reverenced in the province." His mortal remains repose by the side of Brock under the noble monument at Queenston. Mr. Attorney-General Macdonell was a member of the Seato-Canadian family of that name long established at York.

CHAPTER VII.

AUTHORITIES AT YORK TAKEN BY SURPRISE.—THE PLACE CAPTURED BY A UNITED STATES ARMED FORCE.—EVACUATED.—REVISITED FOR A DAY.

HE most remarkable episode in the whole of the forty years' history of York, Upper Canada, occurred in 1813. On the flag-staff of its garrison no longer waved the ensign of Great Britain. The star-spangled banner of the United States was seen floating in its place. For an interval of eleven days the town was in the occupation of an armed force from that quarter. During the winter of 1812-'13 an expedition had been fitted out at Sackett's Harbour by General Dearborn, having in view the capture of Fort George, which was now the key of the communication between lakes Ontario and Erie; but in passing, York was to be visited, and such military and naval stores as should be found there were to be removed or destroyed.

The authorities at York and their superiors at Quebec were to a considerable extent caught napping. General Dearborn and Commodore Chauncey were up and stirring too early in the season for them. The American commanders probably knew much more of the defences along the Upper Canada border than the Canadian authorities knew of the preparations and plans of the authorities at Sackett's Harbour and Washington. Joseph Bouchette, in a note to his "British Dominions" (i. 89), thus bemoans the failure of an admonition offered by himself:—"The defenceless situation of York, the mode of its capture, and the destruction of the large ship there on the stocks, were but too prophetically demonstrated in my report to headquarters in Lower Canada, on my return from a responsible mission to the capital of the Upper Province in the early part of April. Indeed the communication of the result of the reconnoitring operations, and the intelligence of the successful invasion of York, and the firing of the new ship by the enemy, were received almost simultaneously."

On the 27th of February, 1813, General Sheaffe, the now provisional-governor of Upper Canada, met a Parliament at York. "He proceeded to the Government Buildings," a contemporary paper informs us, "accompanied

by a numerous suite." In view of the events which occurred within a few weeks, we read some sentences in the speech with a strong sense of the futility of what is sometimes contained in such productions. General Sheaffe thus congratulated the House on the results of the last campaign. "The enemy has been foiled in repeated attempts at invasion; three of his armies have been surrendered, or completely defeated; important fortresses have been wrested from him." "You will learn with great satisfaction," he informs the House, "that the most vigorous measures have been adopted under the direction of the Commander of the Forces, and are now in operation, to strengthen the Provincial Marine, and to preserve the superiority on the lakes, so essential to the safety of the Province." The reference was to the recent arrival of Sir James Yeo at Kingston, to assume the naval command of the lakes, and the energetic steps proposed to be taken immediately for fitting, manning, and preparing a fleet for active service. It was in truth this threatened promptitude of the new commodore that had expedited Dearborn's movements. General Sheaffe likewise announced to the House that from the high sense entertained of the services of that able and gallant officer, the late Major-General Brock, the Prince Regent, in the name of his Majesty, had been pleased to associate him, immediately after the capture of Detroit, "to the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath."

In the following month, March, Sir George Prevost, the Commander in Chief of the Forces, was himself on a tour of inspection extending to Fort Erie. He received addresses from the Houses of Parliament, then in session, and from others. His reply to "the magistrates and other inhabitants of the town of York," is dated "Government House, York, Upper Canada, March 3rd, 1813." In it occurs the following passage: "Not only my duty, but the express commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, govern my conduct in regulating and improving those objects which excite your approbation, and in expressing the high respect I entertain of the gallant and patriotic behaviour of your militia, I express the sentiments of your Sovereign and of your fellow-subjects throughout his Majesty's Empire, who admire and applaud the exertions of a free, brave, and loyal people, manfully contending to preserve for themselves and their children the fostering protection of a virtuous, wise, and powerful state." A part of his response to the Commons House ran thus: "In pursuing a line of conduct which you are pleased to consider beneficial to the best interests of this portion of his Majesty's dominions, I am acting in obedience to the express commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, whose solicitude for the welfare and preservation of the loyal and brave

subjects in Upper Canada cannot adequately be met by any exertions on my part, without the zealous co-operation of the people of the province, cheered by the voice and example of their representatives, and supported by the influence of the Almighty Disposer of Events."

Towards the end of April, the flotilla, consisting of ten armed vessels carrying fifty guns, prepared at Sackett's Harbour to assist in the reduction of Fort George, set sail, under Commodore Chauncey, for that fort, and on the 27th it was off York. The inhabitants and authorities, civil, military and naval, were, as I have intimated, taken by surprise. The number of men on board these vessels, including the crews, is said to have amounted to between two thousand five hundred and three thousand men.

A landing was effected to the west of the site of the old French fort Toronto, just where the indentation of Humber bay begins. After overcoming a stubborn resistance from such regulars, militia and Indians as could be hurriedly assembled, the hostile force began to march eastward, towards the town. They had reached the western outworks of the garrison, when the magazine, situated close by, exploded, killing Brigadier General Pike, who was in command of that portion of the force which had landed, and many others. General Sheaffe, the commandant at York, drew off the few regulars which happened to be in the garrison there, and which suffered severely on that occasion, towards the road which led to Kingston. His regular force before the engagement consisted of the 8th Regiment, two weak companies of the Newfoundland regiment, and forty of the Glengarry riflemen. The militia had amounted to two hundred and twenty men. A band of forty Indians had assisted in opposing the landing. The fenced in grave of one of these, who had been shot in a tree on this occasion, was long a marked object at York, by the wayside in the woods on the rise now known as Clover Hill. The officers in command of the militia were left by General Sheaffe to make what terms they could with the invaders. Colonel Chewett, Major Allan, and Lieutenant Gouverneau, of the Provincial Marine, on the part of the inhabitants, and Colonel Mitchell, Major Connor, Major King and Lieutenant Elliott, on the part of the assailants, were the names subscribed to the Articles of Capitulation.

The town suffered less than might have been expected from the occupation. Private property was for the most part respected. Some buildings were burned by accident. Some were fired by reckless characters, who could not be called to account. The two brick Halls of Parliament, together with the Clerk's offices adjoining, and the library and papers deposited there,

were destroyed. When in the following year the City of Washington was taken, and the capitol-buildings fired, the capture of York and the destruction of the Halls of Parliament there were cited as grounds of justification for such acts.

In a letter of Chief Justice Scott's, dated at York, April 30th, 1813, he gratefully acknowledges on behalf of the magistrates of York, "the humane attention which General Dearborn had paid to the present situation of its inhabitants, by pursuing a line of conduct so conducive to the protection of a number of individuals, and so honourable to himself." A portion of the public stores which could not be put on board the fleet was given to the inhabitants. The flour and other provisions were distributed to those in want, in the town and in the garrison. One armed vessel was captured in the bay; and a government vessel on the stocks, only partially constructed, was destroyed. General Sheaffe's baggage and private papers were captured. A musical snuff-box of his seems to have given much pleasure to the American officers. Between Dr. Strachan and General Dearborn a scene seems to have occurred on the occasion of Dr. Strachan's delivering the articles of capitulation into the hands of the American commander. Here is a part of the memorandum left by Dr. Strachan of the interview. "I request to know whether he will parole the officers and men, and I demand leave to take away our sick and wounded. He treats me with great harshness; tells me we had given a false return of officers; told me to keep off, and not to follow him, for he had business of more importance to attend to."

York continued in this condition of humiliation for about eleven days. On the 8th of May, the flotilla, having accomplished its mission, moved out of the harbour, and passed across towards Fort Niagara. At Four Mile Creek, to the east of that fort, the forces on board were landed. It then returned to Sackett's Harbour with the spoils of York, and to bring up further reinforcements for the intended attack on Fort George.

After the capture and the evacuation, the post of York was not abandoned by the military authorities. In July, 1813, General Vincent sent down in haste from his entrenchments on Burlington Heights to York for help. He was about to be attacked now, not from the direction of Niagara, as was threatened previous to the affair of Stony Creek, but from the northern end of Burlington Beach, where an American force was proposing to land. Colonel Battersby dashed up from York with some guns and a few men, through woods, ravines, and morasses, where scarcely a bridle path existed. The intelligence that this reinforcement had reached General Vincent from York was the cause of Commodore Chaunc-

cey's second visit to that place. Sailing from Burlington Beach, after taking on board the men whom he had begun to land there, with the intention of storming Burlington Heights from that quarter, he passed with all haste down to York, and disembarked an armed force under the command of Colonel Scott. They remained, however, only one day; but during that time they burned the barracks and public store-houses, and carried away with them a number of cannon and boats, together with shot, shells, and other munitions of war. An exploring and foraging expedition up the River Don was now undertaken. Castle Frank was examined, but not injured. From its name, and the erroneous impression that it had been the residence of a former Lieutenant-Governor, it was probably imagined to be a structure of some importance. On the American plans illustrative of the capture of York, Castle Frank is very conspicuously marked.

At the moment of their visit to York, the fleet of Sir James Yeo must have been very near to the eastward; it is certain that within a day or two he, with his vessels of war, and abundant supplies for General Vincent, was at the very spot at Burlington Beach where Chauncey had landed his men on the 31st of July. On that 31st, the Montreal *Herald* records Sir James Yeo sailing from Kingston. In view of the manifest proximity of the two fleets, the *Herald* remarks: "A naval battle may momentarily be looked for, as interesting to Upper Canada as the fights of Mycale and Salamis were to Athens." However, no decisive engagement followed. On each side, the ships were so all-important for maintaining the communications, that great caution was observed by the fleets. We have a casual note of their movements again in a *Herald* of August 14th. "We understand that Commodore Yeo was off York on the 8th instant, and that his rival was under the guns at Fort George (since May 27th in the hands of the Americans). Nothing from Kingston later than the 10th." It was to the shelter of the Niagara river that Chauncey retired after the second visit to York. Nevertheless, on the 13th of August, he was again at Sackett's Harbour. The *Herald* of August 21st reports: "Chauncey arrived at Sackett's Harbour on the evening of the 13th; and sailed on the 18th. He was seen about four or five miles above Kingston. Commodore Yeo was at the head of the lake near Four Mile Creek. It was expected there would soon be another naval engagement." To the popular imagination of the United States the capture of York was made to loom large. In S. G. Goodrich's Pictorial History of America (p. 760), the illustration representing the death of General Pike shows York in the background as a compact, solidly built town, with many church steeples

and turrets, while the fortifications in front are of masonry worthy of Quebec.

The autumn of 1813 passed gloomily with the inhabitants of the twice-sacked York. Their minds, however, would be cheered in December by the intelligence that Fort George had been abandoned by the enemy and re-occupied by British troops. At the same time their sympathies would be deeply stirred for their fellow-countrymen at Newark. An act universally reprobated was committed by General McClure on his retirement from Fort George. The adjoining village (Newark) was deliberately fired, and the whole of its population rendered homeless. Great suffering ensued, the winter being unusually severe, and the ground covered deep with snow. To those at York who might chance, on the night of the 13th of December, to direct their attention southward, the glow from the flames of the burning Newark would be visible. Immediately after the re-occupation of Fort George by Colonel Murray, a surprise was planned for the fortress on the opposite bank of the river. This was effected on the night of the 19th of December, and the fort was captured. McClure's destruction of Newark was swiftly followed by painful retaliations—Youngstown, Lewiston, Black Rock and Buffalo being successively attacked and fired by armed bodies despatched for the purpose from the Canadian side.

The Third Decade.

1814—1824.

CHAPTER I.

DAYS OF PERPLEXITY AT YORK.—PRESIDENT DRUMMOND (AFTERWARDS SIR GORDON) MEETS PARLIAMENT THERE.—RE-ORGANIZATION OF A MARKET AT YORK.—PEACE DECLARED, DECEMBER 24TH, 1814, BUT NOT KNOWN AT YORK UNTIL TOWARDS THE END OF THE FOLLOWING FEBRUARY.—A MONUMENT TO SIR ISAAC BROCK DECREED.—SOME WAR PRICE-LISTS AND POETRY.—DEVELOPMENT OF YORK WESTWARD.

HROUGHOUT the rest of this thirty months' war, as in round terms we may style it, York was not again molested from without. But its internal life was troubled enough. The remnants of its population that still contrived to abide there were beset with countless cares. Like the inhabitants of Constantinople, in the notable old four-word couplet:

“*Perturbabantur Constantinopolitani
Innumerabilibus sollicitudinibus.*”

Now a success would for a moment elate them. Then anxieties would rack them for the fate of relations and friends and acquaintances. Now a disaster would be reported, as at Fort Erie and Chippawa in July, and Plattsburg in September, sending down their spirits towards zero, with the double weight of shame and a painful concern for kith and kin. All hearts, however, leaped up with a renewed confidence when certain intelligence came of the arrival at Quebec of an instalment of reinforcements to the extent of 18,000 troops straight from Bordeaux. Set free by a cessation of hostilities on the other side of the Atlantic, it was seen that England, “the Titaness bearing on her shoulders the load, well nigh not to be borne, of the too-vast orb of her fate,” was now about to put forth her strength here, as for so many years

she had been doing with such constancy in Europe and elsewhere. The issue was not any longer doubtful, nor could it be far off.

The community of York was now and then enlivened and encouraged by the presence of the gallant and very handsome Lieutenant-General Drummond, the not unworthy occupant of Brock's post of President of the Province and Commander of the Forces. General Drummond, at a later period Sir Gordon Drummond, met Parliament there on the 15th of February, 1814.

Une comfortable times are indicated by some of the Acts passed during this session. We have among them measures for the trial and punishment of high treason and misprision of high treason; for securing and detaining persons suspected of treasonable adherence to the enemy; for vesting in the Crown the estates of aliens—that is, of persons who, as United Empire fugitives to Upper Canada, in 1784, had drawn land there, but who nevertheless, in some instances, when the war began, had gone back to the territory which they had formerly abandoned. It was found that certain clauses in Acts passed in the reigns of Anne and George II., by the English Parliament, were a bar to the proper handling of traitors in Upper Canada. These clauses allowed forfeiture of inheritance for treason to come to an end earlier than was at first decreed: namely, before the decease of "the Pretender to His Majesty's Crown," and before the decease of his eldest son, and of "all and every other son or sons." "Said provisions in said two several Acts contained shall be, and the same are, hereby repealed." So spake the Legislature at York, March 14th, 1814; and the forfeiture of inheritance for treason was accordingly still in full force in Upper Canada.

One Act, expressly local, for the benefit of York, was passed in this session. Governor Hunter, as will be remembered, had ordered a public weekly market for York in 1803. But something supplementary, with authority of Parliament, was now required. The Commissioners of the Peace in the Home District were "authorized and empowered to fix upon and establish some convenient place in the Town of York, as a market, where butcher's meat, butter, eggs, poultry, fish and vegetables shall be exposed to sale, and to appoint such days and hours for that purpose, and to make such other orders and regulations relative thereto as they shall deem expedient." Governor Hunter's proclamation, in 1803, had set apart a field of five-and-a-half acres for market purposes. The Commissioners of the Peace were now to concentrate market operations at a certain point; namely, a market building. Fines for breaches of the regulations were fixed, and the funds accruing from such fines were to go, "one moiety

thereof to the informer, and the other moiety to the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the public uses of this Province, and towards the support of the Government thereof." A relic of the old world traditional custom appeared in the enactment that "all orders, rules and regulations towards the said market shall be affixed at the doors of the church and court house of the said Town of York." A practice, as I imagine, not very long maintained; at least so far as "the Church of York" was concerned.

On the 24th of December, 1814, the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States was signed at Ghent. Had there been an Atlantic cable then, hostilities of course would at once have ceased. As it was, the promulgation of the fact did not take place on this continent with certainty until towards the end of the following February; so that there was time for the failure at New Orleans, January 8th, and for the success of the *Endymion*, Captain Hope, 50 guns, 346 men, January 15th, over the *President*, Commodore Decatur, 63 guns, 525 men.

General Drummond met Parliament again at York on the 1st of February, 1815. The signing of the Treaty of Ghent had not yet been announced. In his speech General Drummond alludes to the peace which had been established in Europe; and he observes that it would have given him peculiar satisfaction if it had been in his power to say that the like blessing was extended over every part of the British Empire. But in this Province the war was not at an end. "We have still a most arduous contest to continue." He therefore advises that the Habeas Corpus Act should remain suspended. In the number of the Montreal *Herald* for March 4th, 1815, which contains President Drummond's speech, appears Madison's Message to Congress, announcing the conclusion of peace.

The measures passed by the Parliament at York now began to shew a community settling down after a great disturbance. We have provision made for persons disabled in the war, and for the widows and children of persons slain in the service of his Majesty. We have £6,000 granted to his Majesty for the uses of the incorporated militia of the Province, namely: six months' pay to the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the incorporated militia; the net pay of the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the line attached to the incorporated militia; six months' pay to the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the incorporated militia artillery. In the same Act, I observe that the sum of one hundred guineas was granted to the Speaker of the House of Assembly, "to purchase a sword to be presented to Colonel Robinson, late of the incorporated militia." A monument is decreed to Sir Isaac Brock. One

thousand pounds are allotted to this purpose. The preamble sets forth how, while "contending at the head of a small body of regular troops and militia, against a very superior force, he devoted his most valuable life." We have an Act to afford relief to barristers, attorneys, and students-at-law, in respect of irregularity in their enrolment in the books of the Law Society, arising out of the war. The measure is justified by the statement that "the glorious and honourable defence of this Province in the war with the United States of America hath necessarily called from their usual occupations and professions most of the inhabitants of the said Province, and among them very many barristers, students-at-law, attorneys, articled clerks of attorneys within the same, whereby the regular meetings of the Benchers of the Law Society being for many terms past interrupted, several young gentlemen have been prevented from making due application for admission on the books as students-at-law, and several students-at-law have in like manner been prevented from being duly called to the bar, to their manifest and great injury." By this legislation, the young scions of many families in York would be advantageously affected. Then we have new enactments about rates and assessments; about hemp; about the incorporation of "The Midland District School Society for the education of the Poor;" and several other matters of importance.

Popular sentiment at York in regard to the war during its progress and at its close, and the popular feeling on war prices, paper currency, statute labour and other matters may be gathered from Cameron's almanac for 1815, published at York. Paragraphs on such subjects as those just named are scattered about throughout the book. Here are some specimens. "The war might be called Madison's Patent Nostrum. For to our House of Assembly it has been a kindly emetic. To our country, a gently sweating cathartic. One threw up two traitors. The other threw off some; and by the way of appendix, hung up some. A sedative will be prescribed should further symptoms require." "We have held our own against powerful odds. Our defenders are heroes, and ably commanded. Should the continuance of war lead to another campaign, may our heroes be sown broadcast; not dibbled on our soil!" "The incorporated militia, now called by some the King's Canadian Legion, was taught the rudiments of war by the gallant Colonel Robinson, their late commander. They have done ample justice to his instruction; and by their bravery, good conduct, and steady discipline, have equalled the best veteran battalions. They are now commanded by Colonel Kerby, a brave and meritorious officer." "The issuers of paper change are entitled to thanks from the public for the great accommoda-

tion such change affords. They might render the accommodation more extensive, were they to emit a proportionate number of half-penny bills." Mr. Cameron wishes the public to exchange some of their paper money for his almanac. He says—

" Ye who would mend these wretched times
 And morals of the age,
 Come buy a book—half full of rhymes,
 At three-pence York per page.
 It would be money well laid out,
 So plenty money is ;
 Paper for paper is fair trade :
 So said poor Richard.—*Quiz.*"

It is hinted that the prevailing system of keeping the York roads in order was a bad one. "Let the statute labour of the Home District be compounded for. Purchase two pair of oxen, and hire six men for the milder months of the year. Six times the quantity of road-repairs would be made annually ; and made in season." The excessive cost of some articles is thus noted : "York supernatural prices current. Turnips, one dollar per bushel. Potatoes, long, at two ditto. Salt, twenty ditto. Butter, per pound, one ditto. Indifferent bread, one shilling, New York currency, per ditto. Consciencee a contraband article. Mechanics much wanted about the printing office. One paper mill. One tin-smith. One trumpeter, and one expert bellows-mender."

A tariff, not satirical, of prices deemed by the magistrates at Quarter Sessions fair and equitable to be paid by the military authorities at York in 1814 for provisions ran as follows :—flour per barrel, £3 10s.; wheat per bushel, 10s.; peas per bushel, 7s. 6d.; barley and rye, the same; oats per bushel, 5s.; hay per ton, £5; straw, £3; beef on foot, per ewt., £2 5s.; slaughtered, per lb., 7½d.; pork, salted, per barrel, £7 10s.; carcass, 7½d.; mutton per lb., 9d.; veal, 8d.; butter, 1s. 3d.; bread per loaf of 4lb., 1s. 6d.

Other doggerel of the period besides Mr. Cameron's might be cited. Here is one stanza of a song from the columns of the Montreal *Herald*, supposed to be addressed by "the Royal Canadian Regiment," to the invaders from the United States :—

" Our sires took the country when Wolfe did command ;
 Though Brock you have murdered, we will keep all our land.
 We will make you repent of so heinous a deed ;
 The Royal Canadians will make your heart bleed.
 We will cook in molasses your pumpkins and pork,
 For the booty of Dearborn and plunder of York.
 We will conquer our foes, and tread on their toes,
 With God save the King, and bad luck to his foes," etc. etc.

A list of houses west of New Street, *i.e.*, the modern Jarvis Street, built before the breaking out of the war, drawn up from memory by Mr. Beikie, formerly clerk of the Executive and Legislative Councils, will serve to shew the expansion of York far beyond its original limits, prior to 1812. It was probably made about the year 1833, as it names occupants at about that period of two or three of the houses referred to. It fixes the situation of the abode of several of the first settlers at York, and of one or two of the buildings first used for public purposes. Mr. Beikie, it will be seen, sometimes sets down the name of the in-dweller for the house indicated; as in his own case, and that of his neighbour Mr. Crookshank.

"Statement shewing the number of houses and other buildings, not including barns, stables, root-houses and the like, which were built before the late war, in that part of the town of York bounded on the east by New Street, and on the west by Peter Street.

"Front Street.—1. Mr. Crookshank; 2. Mr. Beikie; 3. Eckerlin, a discharged soldier of De Watteville's regiment, built by John Endicott, of Yonge Street; 4. Mr. Justice Powell; 5. Mr. Hagerman (modern occupant), built by Wm. Weekes, Esq.; 6. Count Joseph de Puisaye, burnt 27th of April; 7. Mr. Markland (modern occupant), built by Mr. President Russell; 8. Mr. Justice Sherwood (modern occupant), built by Mr. Scott.

"Market Street.—1. Riley (modern occupant), built by Hugh McLean; 2. Government House, formerly Elmsley House; 3. Mr. Cartwright, now Colonel Foster's office (modern use); 4. Barrack Master Hartney (modern occupant), built by the Hon. James Baby; 5. Executive Council office, and Surveyor-General's office (modern use), built by the Hon. Robert Hamilton, of Queenston; 6. John Ross, since removed; 7. Mr. Chewett; 8. Mr. Mercer (modern occupant), built by Alexander Macnab, who was killed at the battle of Waterloo; 9. North-east corner, opposite to Mr. Mercer's; 10. North-west corner, built by Thomas Jobbit, a discharged soldier from the Queen's Rangers; 11. Mr. Berczy, since removed; 12. Nicholas Clinger, the blacksmith; 13. Mr. Baby (later occupant), built by David Burns, Esq.; 14. Angus Cullachie Macdonell, Esq., burnt by accident in the time of the war; 15. MacLaughlin's slaughter house, opposite the south-east corner of the Market Square, now a tavern.

"King Street.—1. A small house, south of Colonel Foster's (present resident); 2. Hugh Carfrae, a discharged sergeant from the Queen's Rangers; 3. Joseph Dennis (later occupant), built by Monsieur Quetton St. George; 4. Jordan Post, junior, an emigrant settler; 5. William Knott, a discharged soldier of the Queen's Rangers; 6. A carpenter's shop, east of William Knott's, built by Mr. Duggan; 7. John Dennis (north-east corner of Yonge

and King Streets), shipwright from the dock-yard at Kingston; 8. Lardner Bostwick, an emigrant settler; 9. The Gaol, since taken down; 10. The Episcopal Church, since repaired and enlarged; 11. School House, Market Square, burnt by accident in the time of the war.

" Newgate Street.—1. The Widow Caldwell (present occupant), built by Mr. Hugh Heward; 2. Mr. Jesse Ketchum, an emigrant settler, by trade a tanner; 3. John Dennis (modern occupant), built by Angus Cullachie Macdonell, Esq.

" Hospital Street.—1. Chief Justice Robinson (modern occupant), built by D'Arey Boulton, junior, Esq.; 2. Mr. Chewett's servant, John Doggit; 3. Mrs. Long, the black woman; 4. Mrs. Flannagan, from Yonge Street; 5. A log-house, owned by Mr. Mercer; 6. Mr. Colin Drummond.

" Lot Street.—Not a building of any kind throughout this street but one; 1. Formerly owned by Joshua Leech, lately the Court House.

" RECAPITULATION :

Front Street	-	-	-	-	8 houses.
Market Street	-	-	-	-	15 "
King Street	-	-	-	-	11 "
Newgate Street	-	-	-	-	3 "
Hospital Street	-	-	-	-	6 "
Lot Street	-	-	-	-	1 "

" Total - - - - 44 buildings."

The figures are not large, but we have in them a faint foreshadowing of what was to happen in the future expansion of York. The path of its progress was already, like that of Empire, westward. The tendency, among officials and fashionables, at all events, became soon apparent, to forsake the banks of the low, slow-paced stream, near the mouth of which the town first sprang into being, and to press steadily on towards those of the ampler and more animated river, which now, in 1884, begins to set bounds to the development in that direction. There is this to be said, however, that although some of the ideas that governed the first founders of York have been considerably departed from, and great vicissitudes in status have been undergone by numerous localities, yet nevertheless it has come to pass in the meantime that, even in parts, for a while held to be most ineligible in respect of beauty of scenery and salubrity of air, there is not a square rood of the great area over which what was York has spread, that is not now discovered to be of high utility for some

important purpose in the economy of a populous community, and invested with a pecuniary value which would have struck the primitive inhabitants dumb with amazement.

The number of buildings in York proper, in 1815, as given by Joseph Bonchette, in his "Topographical Description," pp. 606, 608, was 300, and the population 2,500.

CHAPTER II.

GOVERNOR GORE'S RETURN TO YORK.—WHAT HE DID FOR UPPER CANADA WHILE ABSENT.—COMMERCE REVIVING AT YORK.—MEASURES RELATING TO YORK PASSED IN SESSION OF 1816.—SESSION OF 1817 ABRUPTLY CLOSED.—GOVERNOR GORE DEPARTS FOR ENGLAND.

WHEN peace was proclaimed, Mr. Gore was still nominally Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. Sir George Murray, it is said, was appointed to be his successor, but on the escape of Napoleon from Elba Sir George preferred to continue in active service at home. Governor Gore, it appears, was willing to return to his old post. His faithful aide-de-camp, Major Halton, was prepared to accompany him. The latter writes from London to a friend at York, April 24th, 1815: "It will give you and Mrs. G. a very sincere pleasure to learn that the Governor, Mrs. Gore and myself, expect to set off for York about the beginning of July. They are both better than they have been for some time, having derived considerable benefit from a short visit to Cheltenham."

One work of considerable importance to Upper Canada, performed by Governor Gore, while on leave in England during the critical years, 1812-13-14, was the supervision of the publication of a fine map of the country. It bore the title, "A map of the located districts in the Province of Upper Canada," and was issued by W. Faden, geographer to His Majesty, and to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, Charing Cross. It is a beautifully executed map, 44 by 47 inches in size, and it was long a standard authority for the geography of the country. A "Topographical Description of Upper Canada and Provincial Gazetteer," also issued under the auspices of

Governor Gore, accompanied this map. Another service performed by the Governor was the promotion of subscriptions in London for the relief of the wounded in Upper Canada, and the wives and children of the slain. His name comes next after those of the Dukes of Kent and Northumberland, at the head of the Committee; and his subscription is the same as that of the two dukes, namely, one hundred guineas. The name of Francis Nathaniel Burton, Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada, appears for the same sum. Several wealthy merchants of Montreal gave each two hundred guineas. Governor Gore also superintended the execution of a medal in gold and silver in London, intended to be conferred by the Loyal and Patriotic Society for distinguished service rendered to the country. The medals were never distributed, chiefly from a difficulty in determining who should be the recipients. By a resolution of the Society, they were subsequently defaced by the hammer of Paul Bishop, blacksmith, Caroline street, to the number of 61 in gold and 548 in silver; and were then sold as bullion for a little over £393; which, with a further large balance to the credit of the Society, went towards the erection of the General Hospital at York, formerly situated on John Street. The device on the obverse of this medal was very elaborate, and is thus described: "A strait between two lakes; on the north side a Beaver (emblem of peaceful industry), the ancient armorial bearing of Canada. In the background an English Lion slumbering. On the south side of the strait, the American Eagle planing in the air, as if checked from seizing the beaver by the presence of the Lion: the superscription: UPPER CANADA PRESERVED." A specimen of this medal is excessively rare. It is figured in Lossing's "Field Book of the War," p. 1065.

On the 25th of September Governor Gore is back again amid familiar surroundings at York—the place of course looking somewhat the worse for the two visitations which it had received from the enemy. He had a cordial welcome, and all the honours due to his rank, being saluted, as the York *Gazette* of the day tells us, by His Majesty's ship *Montreal*, and by the garrison. The following familiar York names appear appended to the address which was presented to him:—Thomas Scott, C. J., W. Dummer Powell, John Strahan, D. D., John McGill, John Beikie, Grant Powell, William Chewett, H. Lee, Samuel Smith, W. Claus, Benjamin Gale, D. Cameron, D. Boulton, Jr., George Ridout, Andrew Mereer, Thomas Ridout, D. Jarvis, S. Jarvis, John Small, W. Allan, J. Givins, E. MacMahon, J. Scarlet, S. Heward, Thomas Hamilton, C. Baynes, John Dennis, Pat. Hartney, John Cameron, E. W. McBride, Jordan Post, Jr., W. Knott, Jr., Levi Bigelow, John Hays, T. B. Johnson, Lardner Boswick, John Burke, John Jordan,

W. Smith, Sr., W. Smith, Jr., J. Cawthra, John Smith, Alexander Legge, Jordan Post, Sr., Andrew O'Keefe, S. Lumsden, John Murchison, Thomas Darye, Ezek Benson, A. McNabb, Edward Wright, John Evans, W. Lawrence, Thomas Duggan, George Duggan, Benjamin Cozens, Philip Klinger and Sheriff Ridout.

The Government House, situated near the garrison, having been rendered uninhabitable by the explosion of the magazine, new quarters for the Lieutenant-Governor were provided. Elmsley House, built for his own use by Chief Justice Elmsley, promoted to the Chief Justiceship of Lower Canada in 1802, was secured for the purpose—the mansion afterwards successively occupied by Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir John Colborne and Sir Francis Head, on the site of the present Government House.

Trade and commerce at York began to revive and extend. Mr. Quetton St. George, the principal merchant there, announces at the close of 1814 that he has taken into co-partnership Mr. Julius Quesnel and Mr. John S. Baldwin. He also, in the Montreal *Herald*, requests those who are indebted to him to make their payments without delay, as he purposes to make a voyage to Europe in the course of the next summer.

In 1815 (August 15th), Mr. George Monro, afterwards for many years a leading merchant, joined his brother John at York; both of them acting at first as agents, and then as co-partners of Mr. Young, of Niagara; and finally operating independently, and amassing a considerable fortune at York.

Governor Gore met Parliament at York, for the first time after his return, on the 6th of February, 1816. In his speech he refers to the conduct of the people of Upper Canada during the war. "The gallant defence of the colony by its own militia," he says, "supported during the early part of the war by a very small portion of his Majesty's regular forces, has acquired to it a high distinction for loyalty and bravery. The obstinate contention with successive armies of invaders, and their ultimate discomfiture, had not failed to attract the notice of the world, and gives to this Province an importance in public opinion which it becomes us to maintain."

One of the measures passed in this Parliament was the granting to his Majesty, out of "humble and very limited revenues," as the preamble of the Act expressed it, of £2,500 per annum, towards the support of the Civil Government of the Province, in token of gratitude for the "powerful means which his Majesty sent for our defence during the late war with the United States of America."

Though still "humble and very limited," the revenue was beginning to be respectable. The following sums were voted this session:—£21,000

for roads and bridges; £6,000 for educational purposes; £800 for the purchase of books for the Parliament Library, which had been pillaged during the occupation of the town; £500 per annum for a provincial agent in London; a salary of five shillings a day for a provincial aide-de-camp during Governor Gore's tenure of office.

The Prince Regent was moreover addressed by the House for permission to give the sum of £3,000 to the Governor himself, for the purchase of a service of plate. They are impressed, they say, March 25th, with a lively sense of his firm, upright and liberal administration, and his unceasing attention to the individual and general interests of the colony during his absence. They therefore unanimously pass a Bill appropriating the sum named to the purpose indicated. This Bill for the service of plate to Governor Gore became famous at York and throughout Upper Canada, as Governor Gore's Silver Spoon Bill. The people, as distinguished from their nominal representatives, "saw through the affair," Mr. Gourlay, a short time afterwards remarks, "but thought it best to console themselves with a laugh." The House had precedent for its action in the Parliament of Lower Canada, which had not long before voted £5,000 sterling to Sir George Prevost for a "table service of plate."

The Parliament in the following year (1817) met at York on the 4th of February. Among other measures, an Act was passed establishing a "police," *i.e.*, municipal self-government, to the Town of York. By it the magistrates were restricted from regulating the price of any article of provision, other than bread; and it was provided in the same Act that "the beach and carriage way in front of the Town of York, from Russell's creek (foot of Peter Street) eastward, should be taken and considered as a part of the said Town, and to be subject to the regulations of the Police."

The session proved a short one. After passing several Acts, one of them making good the expense of the Civil Service during the current year, the House had resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration "the present state of the Province." This implied, according to the fifteen days' notice given, a discussion of several burning questions, Immigration, Crown and Clergy Reserves, Land-grants to Militia men, etc. Some progress was made in the consideration of these matters, when, of a sudden, without any previous intimation, at 11 o'clock, a.m., April the 7th, before the minutes of the preceding day had been read, a message was received from the Lieutenant-Governor, requiring the attendance of the House at the bar of the Legislative Council. On repairing thither in obedience to the summons, they were informed, in a curt speech, that they had been engaged in their labours sufficiently long for the present session,

and that they were now at liberty to return to their homes. They dispersed accordingly, after causing entries to be made in the Journal of the House of the resolutions adopted, and of those which were postponed when their proceedings were put a stop to in the manner described.

The truth was that a number of the official personages at York had rushed to the Governor, filled with alarm at the unceremonious way in which the Commons were beginning to handle the questions before them. Too much independence was being exhibited. The Executive were being virtually censured. Governor Gore's exclamation on the occasion became proverbial : "I will send the rascals about their business!" And it is said that had it not been for the interposition of Chief Justice Powell he would have proceeded at the instant, in plain dress as he was, to put the threat into execution. Delay was advised until at least the next morning. Governor Gore had precedent for his proceeding, not only in Cromwell, but in Sir James Craig, the Governor-General himself, who on the 15th of May, 1809, dismissed the Parliament of Lower Canada, in an almost equally abrupt manner, after giving the members a severe scolding.

The names of the majority who appeared to be moving forward, as a phalanx, to carry the offensive resolutions, were as follows :—Maclonell, McMartin, Cameron, Jones, Howard, Casey, Robinson, Nelles, Secord, Nicholl, Burwell, McCormick, Cornwall; of the minority, valiant contenders against the rising tide of change, which was just about to inundate the Canadas : Vankoughnet, Chrysler, Fraser, Cotter, NeNabb, Swayze, Clench.

A month after this scene, Governor Gore bade adieu to York, not to return. He determined to proceed to England, and make in person his own representations of "the state of the Province" before the authorities in London, whose ear, as he believed, he had. His friends at York now once more rallied round him. In their address, they remark on the wisdom of the measures by which he had preserved the Province to be a truly British colony, *i.e.*, by putting a stop to the influx of settlers from the United States, and the solicitude with which he had watched over the welfare of his Majesty's subjects, and cherished their "sentiments of loyalty to the best of kings, by which alone this colony can be a valuable appendage to the Crown, or an agreeable place of residence for British subjects." Though convinced that he would always continue the friend and protector of Upper Canada, they could not forego the pleasing expectation of his return ; and while their best wishes attended him and his family on their journey, they sincerely prayed that that expectation might not be disappointed. Although Governor Gore did not return, as

his friends at York fondly hoped he would, he was long, in a small way, a power behind the chair of the Colonial Minister in London.

My annals of York for the year 1817 would perhaps be held incomplete were I to omit all allusion to a duel which took place in that year, with fatal result to one of the parties. The principals in the affair (Mr. Jarvis, and Mr. Ridout who fell), were young men, the latter being still in his teens. The cause of quarrel, as so often in such cases, was trivial. The details, which exist in print, are so sad that one feels no inclination to reproduce them. The scene of the duel was a solitary field on the Elmsley property, in the neighbourhood of Clover Hill, on the west side of Yonge Street. The date of the incident was July 17th, 1817.

CHAPTER III.

PRESIDENT SMITH.—ROBERT GOURLAY.—LORD SELKIRK.—CHURCH
AT YORK ENLARGED.

N the departure of Governor Gore, occurred the brief administration of Mr. President Smith. He met the Parliament at York only once. "Our Legislature met on the 5th instant," writes Mr. McGill, at York, February 8th, 1818, to his friend Mr. Crookshank, absent at New York. "What will be done cannot yet be known. Contrary to usual custom, Colonel Smith gave his dinner yesterday at the Government House, which could not be ready on Thursday. It was much more comfortable than I did expect. Every thing went off very well. I left them at 9 o'clock." Mr. McGill then names the Governor newly-appointed. "Sir Peregrine Maitland is certainly to be our Lieutenant-Governor. He is at present on the staff on the continent. Lieutenant-Governor Gore," the writer adds, "held the Government till the 5th of last month." In the same letter we have welcome evidence of a long peace in prospect. Mr. McGill proposes to purchase for his friend the timber of a Block-house, about to be pulled down on Colonel Shank's property, on the brow of the high bank overlooking the stream in Gorevale. It was to be sold by auction, February 17th, 1818. "As you speak of building a barn," Mr. McGill writes, "I shall endeavour to attend

and purchase a sufficiency, should it go at a low price. If a purchase is made, Fox (the man in charge at Mr. Crookshank's land, west side of the modern Bathurst Street) can easily haul it over—the sleighing is good to your farm."

During Mr. Smith's brief reign, a measure was passed touching the eligibility of persons to be returned to the House of Assembly. Henceforward "No person or persons, of what condition soever, having been a *bona fide* resident in any country, not being under his Majesty's Government, or who shall have taken the oath of allegiance to any other state or power, shall be eligible to be proposed, chosen, or elected as a representative or representatives of any city, county, riding, or borough, or other place of any description, now or hereafter, sending a representative or representatives to the House of Assembly of this Province, until such person or persons shall have resided in this Province for and during the space of seven years, next before the election; also, such person must be possessed of an estate in fee simple in this Province, unencumbered, to the assessed value of eighty pounds." This was to prevent ambitious immigrants from the United States obtaining the floor of the House too soon. It will be seen that an apprenticeship of seven years was necessary before a just view of the situation in Upper Canada, essential for a legislator, could be acquired.

During the administration of Mr. Smith, Mr Gourlay, a Scottish gentleman, arrived in the country. His intention was to buy land and settle, like any other emigrant from the British Islands. His attention was quickly arrested by the prevailing methods of working the Government of the country. Having been an earnest advocate of reform before leaving his native land, he could not now remain passive and silent. Wishing to promote immigration in an intelligent way, he had previously intended, and he now openly proposed, to circulate in the British islands a book of trustworthy statistics relating to Upper Canada. To provide himself with such statistics, he addressed a circular to the chairmen of the township boards, asking them to call meetings and procure from the assembled inhabitants replies to a number of sensible queries which he forwarded to them. Meetings were held accordingly in many places, and replies furnished, which Mr. Gourlay, like an experienced statistician, proceeded to analyze and tabulate.

The executive authorities became alarmed. Meetings for such purposes convened at the instance of private individuals were dangerous. Under a provision in an obsolete law, Gourlay was arrested and ordered to leave the country; and, because he did not go, he was imprisoned. This popu-

lar hero was never a prominent figure at York. He operated chiefly from Queenston, St. David's and Niagara. In the last named place he lay in the common gaol for some time, and his health became seriously impaired.

The three bulky volumes which Mr. Gourlay published in England on his return thither are a curious farrago of matter relating to Upper Canada, out of which, by the aid of a very full index, a vast amount of information can be drawn. The work is entitled "A Statistical Account of Upper Canada, compiled with a view to a grand scheme of Emigration." He enlarges in these volumes again and again on his wrongs; and indulges his not unnatural resentment against many individuals. He always speaks with bitterness of York, identifying the place with the executive authorities resident there. His proceedings, however, he flattered himself, had a salutary effect on the behaviour to new comers in the land-granting offices at York. "'I fluttered the Volsei at Corioli,' he says; *i. e.*, at York; "and in less than two months it was observed by the country, and, I trust, is still remembered, that a goodly reform was brought about. People having business at the land-office were attended to, and afterwards the emigrants had something like civility shewn to them."

One pities the army of early martyrs in the popular cause. The executive power which they assailed was, for the moment, too strong for them, and they went to the wall. But their principles have triumphed, and through their sufferings, modern Canadians enjoy their heritage of freedom. Wyatt, Thorpe, Jackson and Gourlay were men of superior ability, education, and insight; but in the retrospect we can see that they occasionally were wanting in judgment and tact.

The name of the Earl of Selkirk, founder of the Red River settlement, was familiar to the inhabitants of York in 1818. The Earl was another personage connected with the history of early Canadian advancement, who met with injustice through the narrowness of view prevalent at the period in official quarters. In a famous case tried in the Court-house at York, in 1818, before Chief Justice Powell, the Earl, though not personally in court, brought, through his attorney, charges of "high treason, murder, robbery and conspiracy" against a number of persons brought down from the North-West Country. The intricacies of the case need not here be set forth. They can be learned by any one interested, from the "Report of Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company, at the Assizes held at York, in Upper Canada, October, 1818, from Minutes taken in

Court;" printed by B. McMillan, Bow street, Covent Garden, London, 1819. The prisoners were acquitted, and actions for false imprisonment were brought against the Earl, and verdicts returned against him, with ruinous damages. The Earl was a philanthropic enthusiast; and his schemes for the colonization of the North-West were distasteful to the North-West Fur Company of Montreal, who found strong sympathisers among personal friends at York. The Earl was declared a dangerous innovator, who, by introducing agriculture at the Red River, would drive away the buffalo, and spoil the trade in furs. Mr. John M. Duncan, of Glasgow, in his "Travels through part of the United States and Canada, in 1818 and 1819," published at Glasgow, in two volumes, in 1823, tells us how he touched at York while this trial chanced to be going on. He brings the condition of the town, at the moment, graphically before us. I transcribe some passages from his narrative. He was passing down to Kingston from Niagara in a schooner. "I had intended to disembark and spend a day or two at York, but the town was so completely filled with retainers of the two rival fur companies that I could not obtain lodgings. A trial was about to take place, of some individuals in the employment of the North-West Company, on alleged outrages of some of Lord Selkirk's people, and each party had mustered a host of agents and voyageurs to support by their evidence the cause of their masters. The appearance of York on this occasion strongly suggested what is related of Edinburgh, when the rival barons and their followings used to beard the monarch in his capital; and when the brawls of half-civilized mountaineers endangered the lives of the citizens. A very trifling collision between two of these canoemen might have been no less perilous to the inhabitants of York; for in the remote regions from which they come, no law is known but that of the club, or the knife, and no Highland clans could hold each other more at feud than the companies do each other. Probably I lost little by failing to obtain lodgings at York, for after rambling about for an hour I believe that I left little unvisited except the garrison. The town consists of one street lying parallel to the lake, and of the beginnings of two or three more at right angles to it. I saw only one church, which had been very much out of repair, but some workmen were employed in putting glass into the windows."

Mr. Duncan, in the extract just given, made a note of the fact that "the church" at York was greatly out of repair, without having been made aware of the cause, probably, of its dilapidation. He records, however, the interesting circumstance that, even as he was passing along in his brief stroll through the town, some workmen were employed in put-

ting glass into the windows. Very soon after Mr. Duncan's visit, the church underwent a thorough restoration, while at the same time it was enlarged and rendered every way more ecclesiastical in appearance. It was through the energy of the Rev. Dr. Strachan that this change was effected. The building was put up, as has already been narrated, in 1803, through the exertions of the first pastor, Mr. Stuart. During the occupation of York by the enemy, it had suffered injury and pillage of effects at the hands of the soldiery. It had also been converted into a temporary hospital for the sick and wounded, and had been used likewise as a place of general assembly for many ordinary purposes. The customary meetings of the Loyal and Patriotic Society are noticed in their report as having been "holden in the church at York."

Dr. Strachan's additions to the building were on the south and north sides. The position of the building was made now to be, as it were, north and south, although in the interior the old arrangement continued of having the chaneel toward the east. A steeple and bell turret were also added at the southern end, through which, below, passed the principal entrance. The former entrance, on the west side, was, nevertheless, not closed, but reserved for the use of the troops, the rank and file of which had seats along the whole of the west side. At the head of the nave, where on entering one would expect to see the chaneel, was a pew of state for the Lieutenant-Governor and his family. This pew was provided with a flat tester-like canopy over it, under which, suspended on the wall, was the Royal Coat of Arms. To its right was a pew for members of Parliament. On its left sat the military officers and Governor's aides-de-camp. Around the north, west and south sides ran a broad gallery.

Dr. Strachan escaped calamity throughout the war; but a misfortune befell him just after its close. On a Sunday, in 1815, while he was absent on duty, his house was totally destroyed by fire. Happily the library was saved. This accident led to the erection, not long afterwards, of the fine brick mansion known for many years subsequently as the Palace. The hospitality dispensed there, habitually and periodically, quite matched in pleasant dignity and splendour that of Government House, or any of the other rather numerous family houses in York that "entertained."

When the enlargement of the church was completed, Dr. Strachan engaged in a literary enterprise. He undertook the editorship of a monthly periodical entitled the *Christian Recorder*. It was issued by Mr. George Dawson, bookseller, York, and was printed with handsome type on good paper of a large size. The prospectus set forth that, "While it shall be

the object of this Journal to record important religious events in general, particular regard will be paid to those which relate to the Protestant Church." The charge for the magazine was twelve shillings and six-pence per annum. It continued to appear for two years.

It is to be added that in the spring of the same year, 1818, in which the English church was enlarged, the first Wesleyan place of worship was built at York—a plain, matter-of-fact, white wooden edifice, forty feet square. The position was a little to the west of what is now Jordan street. Its northern gable faced King Street, in which direction was the entrance. Within, the old-fashioned Anglican church custom prevailed of making the sexes sit separate—a practice derived from ancient Oriental and Jewish use. On the east side sat the men, on the west side the women. A few years later the square building assumed an oblong shape, by the addition of twelve feet at one of its ends.

CHAPTER IV.

SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND AT YORK.—TWO PARLIAMENTS AT YORK IN 1818.—DR. R. C. HORNE.—MR. FOTHERGILL.—A LAUNCH.—BANK INSTITUTED.—MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS.—VIEWS OF YORK FROM WITHOUT.—MERCHANTS AT YORK.

N due time Sir Peregrine Maitland arrived at York. After the general European peace of 1815, military officers of high rank began to be provided for by appointments in the colonies. Thus it fell out that Canada, in 1818, received Sir Peregrine Maitland for its ruler. He had served in the Peninsula, and at Waterloo he had commanded "the first British brigade of the First Division, consisting of the second and third battalions of the First Foot Guards." On the 9th of October, 1818, he had married Sarah, second daughter of Charles, fourth Duke of Richmond and Lennox, a lady of great grace and beauty, who somewhat precipitated the union by a romantic flight to the general's quarters, from her father's house, while resident in Paris. There was furthermore an association of poetry connected with them. Both had been present at that ball which

Byron has made historical, given by the Duchess of Richmond at Brussels, whereat the movement of the French army which brought on the crisis of Waterloo first became known. Both, without doubt, had been more than mere spectators of the scene :—

“Ah! then and there was hurrying to and fro,
And gathering tears, and breathings of distress,
And cheeks all pale, which but an hour ago
Blushed at the praise of their own loveliness;
And there were sudden partings, such as press
The life from out young hearts, and choking sighs
Which ne'er might be repeated; who could guess
If ever more should meet those mutual eyes,
Since upon night so sweet such awful morn could rise! ”

Sir Peregrine was a picturesque personage—tall and stately, of sad, pensive aspect, and very reserved in manner. In the year after his appointment to Upper Canada, he was followed by his father-in-law, the Duke, sent out as Governor-in-Chief. The Duke, very soon after his arrival in Canada, paid a visit to his daughter and her husband at York. From York they took an excursion together to Lake Huron, by way of Lake Simcoe and Penetanguishene, extending their tour as far as Drummond's Island.

Public affairs in the Upper Province seem to have required special attention in 1818. Two sessions of Parliament in one year took place. At the unusual period of October the House met at York, after President Smith's prorogation in the preceding March. On the 27th of November a measure passed originating in Gourlay's agitation, which had recently begun. The Executive party in the House continued strong. It was decreed by this Act to be illegal to hold meetings “ purporting to represent the people, or any description of the people, under the pretence of deliberating upon matters of public concern, or of preparing and presenting petitions, complaints, remonstrances and declarations, and other addresses to the King, or to both, or either of the Houses of (the British) Parliament, for alteration of matters established by law ; or redress of alleged grievances in Church or State ;” and any one having anything to do with such meetings was to be held “ guilty of high misdemeanor.” A law of harsh sound was also passed about the forfeited estates of “ rebels and traitors and aliens,” the proceeds of which, when sold, were to make good the war losses of the loyal. The first-named statute was repealed within a few months after its enactment.

But before advancing further with the legislation at York during this portion of the rule of Sir Peregrine Maitland, it will be well to produce

some ordinary incidents in and about the place from about 1820 to 1823, as gleaned from contemporary documents. In 1820 tenders for new market buildings at York are asked for in the *Gazette* (May 25th, 1820), and in the same paper handsome subscriptions are recorded from Messrs. Stoyell, Jesse Ketchum, Joseph Shepard and others, towards the expense of erecting a Common School at York. In 1820 the Loyal and Patriotic Society are winding up their affairs. At a meeting held again "in the church at York," it was decided, as has been intimated already, to devote a surplus of £4000 in the hands of the society to the founding of a General Hospital at York. An event of 1820, long remembered at York, was the launch of a schooner *The Brothers*, built for Mr. Oates and others. No launch had taken place there for a number of years previously. Bishop Mountain, of Quebec, was present at York in 1820, holding a visitation of his clergy there, and a confirmation. Agricultural interests were also not overlooked at York at this period. On the 7th of May, 1820, there is a cattle show, and prizes of different grades are distributed under the auspices of the Agricultural Society formed in 1818. Dr. R. C. Horne was secretary to the society. At this time Dr. Horne was King's printer at York. He became involved in 1821 in a difficulty with the Parliament on account of imperfections in the report of Parliamentary debates which he had allowed to appear in the columns of the *Gazette*. On being summoned to the bar of the House, Dr. Horne stated in explanation that the notes of the debates were not taken by himself, but furnished to him by a "person named Francis Collins." Dr. Horne offered every apology, and submitted himself to the pleasure of the House. He was cautioned by the Speaker that for the future he would be held responsible for the correctness of the reports in the *Gazette*. The Attorney-General was for obliging Dr. Horne to insert in his next issue the following paragraph: "From the incompetency or negligence of our reporter, the debates of the House of Assembly inserted in the last number of this paper were so imperfect and untruly reported that no dependence can be placed in their accuracy." But this was not pressed.

In the year following the reprimand to the King's printer—namely in 1822—Charles Fothergill's name takes the place of that of R. C. Horne, in the imprint of the *Gazette*. Attached to the *Gazette*, Mr. Fothergill published a journal of his own, entitled *The Weekly Register*, the first number of which is dated York, April 18th, 1822. Besides large extracts from the English newspapers, the *Weekly Register* contained a great deal of excellent reading on subjects connected with literature and natural history. It is observable that the statutes are now printed in bolder and more

readable type, with wide spaces between the lines. In 1825, however, a return takes place to the former more obscure and condensed style ; and the printing is executed at the *Chronicle* office, Kingston, Upper Canada, by James Macfarlane. Dr. Horne received an appointment in the Bank of Upper Canada, with which institution his name was long associated.

The legislation at York in Sir Peregrine Maitland's time embraced numerous measures of great public importance concerning the opening of internal communications by land and water, the administration of justice, the regulation of commercial intercourse with the United States, the currency, education, and so on. But it is my province to note here chiefly the points which had relation to York, or affected York more or less remotely.

One of the Acts of 1820 increased the representation of the Commons in the House of Assembly. The preamble thus explains the necessity for the measure : " Whereas from the rapid increase of the population in this province the representation thereof in the Commons House of Assembly is deemed too limited." Counties where they had reached a population of 4,000 were now to have two members. Towns where Quarter Sessions were held, when containing one thousand souls, were to have one member. In this act provision is made for the representation in Parliament of the Provincial University. Whenever a university or a seminary of learning in this province shall be organized and in operation, in conformity to the rules and statutes of similar institutions in Great Britain, it shall be represented by one member. The tract of land appendant to such university is to be declared by proclamation an independent town or township. The voters are to be those who have a right to vote in the Convocation of a University. In his speech to Parliament, February 2nd, 1821, Sir Peregrine Maitland alluded to the increase in the representation, and to the Parliament buildings lately erected : " I cannot deny myself the pleasure," he said, " of noticing as a gratifying proof of our general advancement the accession of numbers which has taken place in your respective bodies ; and I congratulate you on the improved accommodation which this building affords for the discharge of your important duties." The grants for the rebuilding of the Parliament House at York had been made in the session of 1819. The sum of £1,500 was voted for the purpose, with £157 10s. for the plans. At the same time the sum of £354 11s. was set aside for the purchase of copies of Journals of the House, to replace those destroyed by fire in the war.

In 1821 we have Acts for the preservation of deer and salmon. In regard to salmon : It shall not be lawful for any person or persons at any

time to take, catch or kill in any manner in the Home District, District of Newcastle or District of Gore, any salmon or salmon-fry nearer the mouth of any river or creek along the shore of Lake Ontario than two hundred yards, or within fifty yards up the mouth of any such river or creek : at the Credit, the distance up, say two hundred yards. And nothing in the Act was to be construed to extend to Indians, who were to fish as theretofore, when and where they pleased, except within one hundred yards of a mill or mill dam, by fire or torch-light.

In the year 1821 the Roman Catholic congregation at York are authorized by Act to dispose of a lot at the corner of George and Duke Streets, and to purchase with the proceeds land in a more eligible situation in or near the town of York aforesaid, "for the use and accommodation of a Roman Catholic congregation in the said town of York and its vicinity." The trustees of the said land were the Hon. James Baby, the Rev. Alexander Macdonell, and John Small, Esq. The site of the present Roman Catholic St. Paul's and its surroundings was thus secured.

At the session of 1821 was promulgated the Royal Assent to the Act passed in 1819 for the institution of a Bank, to be styled the Bank of Upper Canada. The preamble sets forth that it would be "conducive to the prosperity and the advancement of commerce and agriculture," to have such an institution in Upper Canada. The names attached to the petition for incorporation, and included accordingly in the Act as members of the new "body corporate and politic," are the following:—William Allan, Robert Charles Horne, John Scarlett, Francis Jackson, William Warren Baldwin, Alexander Legge, Thomas Ridout, Samuel Ridout, D'Arey Boulton, junior, William B. Robinson, James Macaulay, Duncan Cameron, Guy C. Wood, Robert Anderson, John S. Baldwin. The stock was not to exceed £200,000. It was to open when the deposit amounted to £20,000. The Government might subscribe for 2,000 shares. It was to be situated at the seat of government of the province. The institution apparently might expire in "the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight." The bank did not come into operation before 1822. The deposit was then reduced to £10,000. In 1823 it was again reduced to £8,000, and the capital was made £600,000. For nearly half a century the Bank of Upper Canada did good service to the country and to individuals. It then became embarrassed. It had burdened itself with unsaleable lands taken in security. All the knowing ones withdrew in time. The fate usual in such cases overtook the hindmost in 1866. In 1821, when the bank was still only in *posse*, the cautious Mr. McGill expressed his doubts as to the necessity of any bank at

all at York. "It is not yet ascertained," he writes to a friend, "whether there are sufficient subscribers to the Upper Canada Bank to commence operations. My own opinion is that it will be a losing business, though I have been dragged into subscribing more than was perhaps prudent. I really cannot see what good business a bank can do here. The Lower Canada Bank, I am told, has not been able to pay a dividend for the last year, owing to bad debts."

But to proceed with the legislation of the period.

In 1822 we have further enactments about hemp. Three hundred pounds worth of machinery is to be purchased and set up in the province to prepare hemp for exportation, and fifty pounds per annum for three years to keep the machinery in order. In 1823, flax was added to hemp.

An Act in this year, 1822, appoints trustees to the will of William Weekes, late of York, Esquire. He had left property for the founding of an "Academy for the education of youth." The Rev. John Straehan, D.D., John Beverley Robinson, Esq., and Henry John Boulton, Esq., were appointed trustees to carry into effect this will. Mr. Weekes, of whom we have already heard, was killed in a duel at Niagara. I fail to find subsequent traces of this bequest. In 1822 the magistrates at Quarter Sessions were authorized to restrain the running at large of swine in the towns of York, Niagara, Sandwich, Amherstburg and Kingston.

So late as 1823, we have legislation in reference to "tythes" in Upper Canada. It was feared that the clergy were going to assert a right to "tythes," notwithstanding that already, as the preamble of the Act referred to declares, "His Majesty has been pleased to reserve for the support of a Protestant clergy in this province one-seventh of all lands granted therein." It was important to the well-being of the colony that all doubts on this point should be removed. It was therefore enacted that "no tythes shall be claimed, demanded or received by any ecclesiastical parson, rector or vicar of the Protestant Church within the province, any law, custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

In 1823 we have a cut or navigable canal through Burlington Beach authorized; also an Act for the "better preservation of the Herring Fishery at the outlet of Burlington Bay." It should no longer be lawful for any person or persons to take or catch, or attempt to take or catch, by setting or drawing any net or nets, weir or weirs, seine or seines, any herring at the outlet of Burlington Bay, or within two hundred yards of the said outlet on the shore on Lake Ontario, between September 1st and January 1st, inclusive, in each and every year, at any other days and times than Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays."

In 1823 an Act was passed to provide for the erection of a Gaol and Court House in and for the Home District. The magistrates may borrow £4000 for the purpose. Also an Act "to restrain the selling of beer, ale, cider, and other liquors, not spirituous, in certain towns and villages in Upper Canada." The method of restriction proposed was the issue of licenses. "Moneys paid for licenses to be paid to the Receiver-General, and accounted for through the Lord Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, for the time being, in such manner and form as his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to direct."

During this period two measures were also passed regulating practitioners of physic and surgery; but resident practitioners before January 1st, 1812, were exempted from the requirements of these Acts. Some medical men, ever memorable at York, are in a contemporary *Gazette* named as commissioners to carry out certain enactments in one of these statutes:—"James Macaulay, late Deputy Inspector of Hospitals; Christopher Widmer, late Surgeon to His Majesty's Forces; William Lyons, Surgeon to His Majesty's Forces; Robert Kerr, Surgeon to the Indian Department; William Warren Baldwin, M. D.; Grant Powell, late Surgeon to the Incorporated Battalion of Militia."

Thus wore on the times at York, at the close of its third decade. It is well that people should be helped to see themselves occasionally as others see them. The chance traveller, Mr. Duncan, furnished us with a lively glimpse of York, as the place struck him in 1818. Another traveller, a Scot too, like Mr. Duncan, notices York for us in 1823, in his "Sketches of Upper Canada, Domestic, Local and Characteristic," printed at Edinburgh, 3rd edition in 1825. The picture may not be flattering, but it matters little now. He first describes in graphic terms his journey up from Kingston, on board the steamer *Frontenac*. "The night proved dark and unpleasant; a host of threatening clouds obscured the hitherto spotless sky, while a dreary blast careered along the lake, and made its waters noisy and turbulent. Notwithstanding the darkness, I continued to walk the deck till near midnight; my steps being guided by the irregular light shed by the showers of glowing sparks that flashed in rapid succession from the flue, and were whirled aloft in every direction. At last it began to rain, and I retired to my berth. . . . (In the morning) we fortunately had a strong breeze, directly astern, which soon brought us in sight of York." Persons still live who well remember the favourite old steamer *Frontenac*. To such Mr. Howison's account of the boat will be of interest: "The *Frontenac* is the largest steamboat in Canada, her deck is one hundred and seventy-one feet long, and thirty-

two feet wide. She is seven hundred and forty tons burden, and draws only eight feet water when loaded. Two paddle wheels, each about forty feet in circumference, impel her through the water. Her length is so great that she answers very slowly to the helm; but I understand she was built of the dimensions I have stated, that she might cover three seas, and thus be prevented from pitching violently in boisterous weather. When the wind is favourable, the *Frontenac* sails nine knots an hour with ease." Mr. Howison's stay in York was very brief. He is less circumstantial than Mr. Duncan in his account; and his sketch is by no means rosy-hued. "The land all round the harbour and behind the town is low, swampy, and apparently of inferior quality; and it could not be easily drained, as it lies almost on a level with the surface of the lake. The town, in which there are some good houses, contains about 3,000 inhabitants. There is little land cleared in its immediate vicinity, and this circumstance increases the natural unpleasantness of its situation. The trade of York is very trifling, and it owes its present population and magnitude entirely to its being the seat of government; for it is destitute of every natural advantage, except that of a good harbour." To account for the brief stay of Mr. Howison's fellow-travellers at York, it is to be recalled that Niagara was still the principal port of the western portion of the lake, where the trade and traffic of the most thickly peopled part of Upper Canada were carried on. Niagara would thus be the destination of most of them.

The trade at York might be, as Mr. Howison wrote, very trifling. It amounted, nevertheless, to quite as much, probably, as any rational man, taking into consideration the circumstances and history of the place, ought to have expected. A number of merchants were doing business at the time at York; not unprofitably, as may be presumed. At a date a little earlier than that at which we have arrived, the following individuals or firms took out the ordinary licence for the sale of spirituous liquors in their respective stores—at York, or in the Home District:—William Allan, Peter Macdougal, Wood & Anderson, James Nation & Co., Daniel Brooke, Alexander Legge, Henry Drean, John Carfrae, H. McK. Murchison, Thos. Carfrae, McGinnes & Montgomerie, D. Boulton, junr., Edward Oates, Sullivan & Stotesbury, Thomas Stevens, Young & Monro, Peter Robinson, Peter Paterson, George Duggan, Dennis Fitzgerald, William Smith, Quetton St. George & Co., George Foster.

The Fourth Decade.

1824—1834.

CHAPTER I.

STAMFORD AND YORK, ALTERNATE RESIDENCES OF THE GOVERNOR.—VISITORS.—SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT AT YORK.—“COLONIAL ADVOCATE” AT QUEENSTON AND YORK.—ITS EDITOR.—PARLIAMENT HOUSE AT YORK BURNED.—E. A. TALBOT’S NOTICE OF YORK.—CANADA COMPANY AT YORK.—MR. GALT THERE.—STEAM-PACKET “CANADA” AND CAPTAIN RICHARDSON.—CHARLES FOTHERGILL.—“COLONIAL ADVOCATE” PRESS DESTROYED.—DR. DUNLOP.—CAPTAIN BASIL HALL.

IR PEREGRINE and Lady Sarah Maitland passed as little of their time as possible at York. Their favourite place of abode was Stamford Cottage, near the village of Stamford, three miles north-west of the Falls of Niagara. The house was built by Sir Peregrine himself, as a tranquil retreat from public business.

“ So Scipio, to the soft Cumæan shore
Retiring, tasted joy he never knew before.”

The interior of the cottage was finished, as to its doors, door frames and window recesses, with the sombre black walnut of the country, and some of the rooms were wainscotted from floor to ceiling with the same wood. The site commanded extensive views. At the moment the steady thunder of the neighbouring cataract, subdued and lulling, was being leisurely listened to, York itself, thirty miles and more away, across the waters of the lake, could, under the proper atmospheric conditions, be distinctly seen. Around was a grand undulating park, of many acres, wherein the finest and most picturesque trees of the natural forest had been carefully preserved.

Here the even tenor of the Lieutenant-Governor’s life was varied occasionally by the presence of a distinguished visitor from England, on his tour through the United States and Canada. In 1820 he was summoned

away for a few months to Quebec, to undertake the temporary administration of the general government of Canada. The occasion was the decease of his father-in-law, the Duke, two years before his guest at York, who, it will be remembered, was bitten by a tame fox, and died from hydrophobia. During Sir Peregrine's absence, Mr. Smith was again administrator in Upper Canada. On the arrival at Quebec of the Earl of Dalhousie, the new Governor-General, Sir Peregrine returned.

For a short time in 1824 the society of Mr. Stanley, afterwards better known as Earl of Derby, was enjoyed at York. He was then member for Stockbridge. Two other members of the Imperial Parliament were travelling with him—Mr. Denison, M.P. for Newcastle (afterwards the Speaker), and Mr. Stuart-Wortley, M.P. for Bossiney in Cornwall, afterwards Lord Wharncliffe. In the autumn of 1824 these gentlemen accompanied Sir Peregrine Maitland to Montreal and Quebec. The Governor's suite on this occasion consisted of Lord Arthur Lennox, Mr. Maitland, Colonels Foster, Lightfoot, Coffin and Talbot.

A few sentences from one of Sir Peregrine's speeches to the Legislature will illustrate the Governor's theory and that of the Executive party generally, at the period, of the relation of the ruler of a colony to the King's subjects and their representatives in that colony. The Governor's function was to attend to what, according to his judgment, ought to be done to "promote the real welfare of the colony." The Legislative Council and House of Assembly were there; but they were simply advisory bodies, in case their assistance should be required. In the meantime, the Governor was to be the best judge; and he was responsible solely to the Sovereign. After exhorting the two branches of the Legislature to "concur in promoting the interest of true religion, and in improving all those means which can add to the instruction, convenience or happiness of the people, and not to overlook those which tend to increase the wealth and power of the country," Sir Peregrine rather loftily observes: "I know you have difficulties to encounter in the exercise of your important functions, from which I am happily exempt. But I am confident your zeal for the public interest will surmount them; and the impression that such difficulties exist will render you more worthy of your country's applause. Connected only with this Province in the discharge of my public duty, I can have neither party prejudice, nor local attachments, nor personal interests to overcome. My interests more naturally lead me to fulfil the wishes and expectations of my Sovereign, which I shall best do by a faithful performance of my duty in promoting as much as possible the real welfare of this Province." To this portion of the Governor's speech

the Assembly, acquiescingly in sound, but not without a slight suspicion of sarcasm, replies: "We are deeply sensible of the importance of those functions with which we are entrusted, and that their exercise is attended with difficulties from which Your Excellency, being only connected with this Province in the discharge of your public duty, is happily exempt. To those difficulties, where there is room for their existence, we cannot dare to assure ourselves that we are entirely superior; still less can we venture to hope that the impression of their existence may not subject to imputation and misconstruction our most unbiased and disinterested actions; but the confidence Your Excellency is pleased to express in our zeal for the public good will animate us to surmount whatever obstacles may present themselves to the faithful discharge of our duty." That is to say, they are conscious of purity of motive and rectitude of aim, and they have decided to go straight on; but it is not improbable that in some quarters they will be deemed and called factious.

But rest and quietness were not in store for Sir Peregrine Maitland. A thorn in his side, and in the side of many another who would rather have been let alone, was prepared in the person of Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie, who now comes on the scene. Mr. Mackenzie was a perfervid Scot, not yet much more than thirty years of age, who had been impelled to enter on the career of polities; not from necessity, for he had already fairly succeeded in several other lines of life, but solely by a strong conviction that everything was going wrong in the management of public affairs in Upper Canada. The fire was first kindled within him probably as a result of the Gourlay agitation, and at length it burst irrepressibly forth, first in speech, and then in the form of a printed journal, which he resolved to make the organ of communication between himself and the whole community. He was a man in great measure self-taught; of the school and temper, as of the race and creed, of Robert Burns; a reader and thinker from boyhood; with clear intellect, tenacious memory, and ready command of all his faculties, and with a considerable insight into history and political economy. His journal was entitled the *Colonial Advocate*. It appeared first on the 18th of May, 1824, at Queenston. It was printed, however, on the opposite side of the river, at Lewiston, for convenience and economy. In the *Advocate* he proceeded to criticise in all sincere earnestness the Executive and the party of the Executive, in Upper and Lower Canada.

The year 1824 is to be marked in the annals of York as that in which the *Colonial Advocate* was removed thither from Queenston. What could be expected but that storms would brew about a paper and an

editor who heralded their approach in such terms as these (in the number for June 10th, 1824): "Not to gain the wealth of the Indies would I now eringe to the funguses that I have beheld in this country, who are more numerous and more pestilential in the town of York than the marshes and quagmires with which it is environed." When he speaks of York he does so in the tone of an outsider of the day. Everywhere throughout Canada it was common at that period to hear abuse heaped upon York, for it was there, as many averred, they had felt, or fancied they had felt

After becoming domiciled there, without bating anything in his fervour against abuses, Mr. Mackenzie's estimate of York became more just.

Among those who were as public characters unceremoniously passed under review in the *Advocate*, there were not a few perfervid Scots like himself; but doggedly fixed in views exactly the opposite of his own. These men he described as "unfortunate in their political education, who therefore have a natural alliance with the enemies of mankind in every part of the world." In these circumstances, the feeling towards the newcomer soon began to be very bitter in numerous quarters.

The Lieutenant-Governor himself was a Scottish soldier, of high, aristocratic, exclusive ideas. Strictures on his proceedings from such a source would, when they ceased to be despised, become very exasperating. And of this personage, Mackenzie had ventured to declare in print, in the first number of his paper, that his life was chiefly passed in traversing the lake from York to Queenston, and from Queenston to York (that is to say, to and from the cottage at Stamford), like the Vicar of Wakefield from the brown bed to the blue, and from the blue bed to the brown ; who knew, he rather humorously adds, our wants, *i. e.*, Upper Canada's wants, "as he gained a knowledge of the hour of the day, by report ; in the one case, by the Niagara gun, and in the other by the *Gazette* essay upon stupor and inactivity."

When the corner-stone of Brock's monument on Queenston Heights was laid (Oct. 13th, 1824), among many other things enclosed in the hermetically sealed bottle placed in the cavity by the commissioners, Dickson, Clark, and Nichol, there was a copy of the first number of the *Colonial Advocate*. On Sir Peregrine's return from an official tour in the eastern part of the province, he gave instant orders that the foundation

of the monument, now reaching a height of fourteen feet, should be dug into, and the offensive document removed, which was done by Mr. Clark, one of the commissioners, and Mr. Hall, the architect or engineer. The editor of the *Advocate*, not a whit abashed, presented himself on the spot when the operation was completed, and claimed as his property the number of the *Advocate* which had been extracted, together with a certain otter skin which had enveloped the bottle. He subsequently proposed to deposit this identical copy of the first number of the *Advocate* and the otter skin in the British Museum, as historical reliques. One other incident at York in 1824 must now be recorded. On Christmas eve in that year the Parliament Buildings, erected five years before, of which the inhabitants had become proud, were destroyed by fire. The General Hospital building, recently erected, west of John Street, but not yet put to its intended use, was hastily fitted up for legislative purposes, and temporarily occupied by the Parliament.

On the 13th of January, 1825, Sir Peregrine Maitland met the Parliament at York, in this building. The session lasted until the 13th of April. Among the measures passed was one authorizing the magistrates of the Home District to raise £2,000 additional to finish the Gaol and Court House at York; and another requiring the justices of the peace in every town where police arrangements existed, including York, every two weeks to "assize and fix the price of bread" in that town; and the clerk of the market was to "affix a notice thereof in some conspicuous place in the market-house."

Chronologically, Mr. Edward Allen Talbot's account of York given in his "Five Years' Residence in the Canadas," will be in place here. Traveller's narratives have already enabled us to contemplate York at several stages of its progress. Here we have it again depicted to us, as it appeared to a stranger in 1825. "Though York is the capital of an extensive colony, it would in Europe be considered but a village. Its defenceless situation, which cannot be much improved, renders it of little importance in time of war. . . . The garrison is about a mile west of the town, and consists of a barrack for the troops, a residence for the commanding officer, a battery and two block-houses which are intended for the protection of the harbour. In the year 1793 there was only one wig-wam on the site of this town. It now contains one thousand three hundred and thirty-six inhabitants, and about two hundred and fifty houses, many of which exhibit a very neat appearance. The public buildings are a Protestant Episcopal Church, a Roman Catholic chapel, a Presbyterian and Methodist meeting-house, the Hospital, the Parliament House, and the

residence of the Lieutenant-Governor. The Episcopal Church is a plain timber building, of tolerable size, with a small steeple of the same material. The Roman Catholic chapel, which is not yet completed, is a brick edifice, and intended to be very magnificent." This would be the present Roman Catholic St. Paul's, on the land purchased with the proceeds of the lot on the corner of Duehess and George Streets; of which the builders were Messrs. Parke and Ewart. The briek-work of the south side exhibited, as the writer remembers, a diamond-shaped pattern which was considered curious, and which is probably the ornamentation to which Mr. Talbot alludes. On the 1st of March, the Rev. Mr. O'Grady, B.D., preached a sermon in aid of the fund for the liquidation of the debt on this building. In connexion with the mention of this church, I subjoin an advertisement which appears in the *Loyalist*, printed at York, March 14th, 1829. "At a meeting of the committee for the liquidation of the debts of the Roman Catholic Church of York, held in the Vestry Room on Monday the 9th instant, Lawrence Heyden Esq., J. P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved: That the Rev. W. J. O'Grady, B.D., is entitled to our warmest gratitude for his energetic and truly Christian appeal on Sunday the 1st instant, in behalf of our Church, when a collection was made amounting to £55 8s. 6d., including donations. The Attorney-General, £5; Hon. Thomas Clark, £1 5s.; Hon. W. Dickson, £1 5s.; Col. W. Chewett, £1 5s.; Rev. Dr. Phillips, 5s.; C. Widmer, Esq., M.D., £1 5s.; P. Deehl, Esq., M.D., £1 5s.; John S. Baldwin, Esq., £1; Capt. Baldwin, R.N., 10s.; Robert Baldwin, Esq., 10s.; Robert Sullivan, Esq., 10s.; W. R. Prentice, Esq., £1 5s.; A Presbyterian, £1; Mr. Richard Wabron, 10s.; Mr. P. Hartney, 3s.; Samuel P. Jarvis, Esq., £1 5s.: That we hail the liberality which our Protestant and dissenting brethren manifested on this interesting occasion as a certain prelude to future concord among all classes of the community: That the Solicitor General, W. W. Baldwin, Esq., M.P., Simon Washburn, and James Fitz Gibbon, Esquires, are justly entitled to our best thanks for having acted as collectors. York, 9th March, 1829." Mr. Talbot's language will recall the fact that it was still the day of small things, in respect of architectural magnificence, with all denominations at York in 1825. "The Parliament House erected in 1820 (the news of its destruction had not yet reached Mr. Talbot) is a large and convenient briek building, finished off in the plainest possible manner. The York Hospital is the most extensive public building in the province, and its external appearance is very respectable. The house in which the Lieutenant-Governor resides is built of wood; and though by no means contemptible, is much inferior to some private houses

in the town, particularly to that of the Honourable and Venerable Dr. Strachan. Many of the Law and Government officers have very elegant seats in and about the town; and, with few exceptions, they are built of wood, and assume a most inviting aspect.

"The streets of York are regularly laid out, intersecting each other at right angles. Only one of them, however, is yet completely built; and in wet weather the unfinished streets are if possible muddier and dirtier than those of Kingston. The situation of the town is very unhealthy; for it stands on a piece of low marshy land, which is better calculated for a frog-pond, or beaver-meadow, than for the residence of human beings. The inhabitants are on this account much subject, particularly in spring and autumn, to agues and intermittent fevers; and probably five-sevenths of the people are annually afflicted with these complaints. He who first fixed upon this spot as the site of the capital of Upper Canada, whatever predilection he may have had for the roaring of frogs, and for the effluvia arising from stagnated waters and putrid vegetables, can certainly have had no very great regard for preserving the lives of his Majesty's subjects." Thus far Mr. Talbot. Faithful enough at the outset, he manifestly exaggerates, towards the close of his remarks, retailing spleenetic observations plentifully supplied to him during his sojourn. These disadvantages and inconveniences of position, so boldly faced, and in time so effectively surmounted, were not peculiar to York. I suppose there is not a city or town at this moment flourishing round the whole circuit of Lakes Ontario or Erie, which was not more or less unhealthy at its first inception; when the houses of the settlers were for the most part just set down on the surface of the virgin soil, without basements, or any thought of systematic drainage. If in new countries men were to wait until sites became thoroughly salubrious, few cities or towns would be built. The founders of Venice, Amsterdam and St. Petersburg were probably deemed insane by hosts of contemporaries in other places.

In 1826, the Canada Land Company, which has played such an important part in the colonization of Western and Eastern Canada, began its operations at York. The first office of the Company in York was a room in the Steamboat Hotel, in the Market block, on Front Street. Being a powerful body, managed in London, it assumed the aspect of an *imperium in imperio* in both provinces. Local landowners, and others, regarded it with some disfavour. With the more narrow of the Reform party it was classed among the grievancees. A perfect cordiality failed to be established between Sir Peregrine Maitland and the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Galt. Vague misunderstandings arose on both sides.

Mr. Galt was not suffered, by the Board in London, to remain in Canada very long, but long enough to start the Land Company on a career which has proved of great advantage to Canada. His duties required his presence chiefly in the Huron territory, where he was instrumental in founding Guelph and Goderich. He had also a residence afterwards on Burlington Heights, whereto he resorted. But while staying in York, during the winter of 1827, he bethought himself of giving an entertainment on a grand scale to the whole society of the place, with a view to affording pleasure to the inhabitants, and conciliating their good-will for the Company. The idea took shape in the form of a fancy ball, which continued memorable for years in the annals of York. Lady Mary Willis did the honours of the evening for Mr. Galt, whose family had not yet arrived from England. Lady Mary, daughter of the Earl of Strathmore, was the wife of Mr. Justice Willis, a gentleman lately appointed to the Bench of Upper Canada.

Particulars of this fancy ball are accessible in print. The scene was Franks' Hotel, at the south-west corner of the present Colborne Street and Market Square; the day, the 31st December, 1827. The hostess of the evening personated Mary, Queen of Scots. Judge Willis himself appeared, for a short time during the entertainment, as the Countess of Desmond, aged one hundred years.

Mr. Galt was recalled, and returned to England in 1828. The comforts and conveniences of life afforded by inns at York and elsewhere in Upper Canada at this period were very poor. Mr. Galt, in his "Autobiography," thus describes the best hotel in York: "It was a mean two-story house; and being constructed of wood, every noise in it resounded from roof to foundation. The landlord, however, did all in his power to mitigate the afflictions with which such a domicile was quaking, to one accustomed to quiet." The misery of his quarters at York clung to the recollection of Mr. Galt. Later, when detained in bad health at Dover, he declared Dover dismal, but not so dismal as York. "Every one" he writes, "who has ever been at Dover, knows that it is one of the vilest hypochondriac places on the face of the earth, except York, in Upper Canada, when he has been there one day." He afterwards expressed regret at having "kept aloof from many who might have lightened the cares which afterwards became intolerable." He adds a rough memorandum of visits of ceremony paid him while at York. It embraces some familiar names: "Major Hillier, a Judge, the Solicitor-General, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, Mr. D. Boulton, Mr. George Hamilton, M.P.P., the Speaker, Mr. Rolph and two gentlemen, the Inspector-General, the Surveyor-General, Colonel Fitz

Gibbon, Judge Boulton, Captain Brown, an officer of the garrison, a gentleman (I believe, Dr. Baldwin), the Honourable T. Dickson, Colonel T. Clark. John Brant, the Indian Chief, dined with me one day at the Commissioners' mess, and I dined at Dr. Strachan's. I was kindly asked twice, but felt myself too unwell to go. He also hospitably invited me to come to his house in the evening, but I was always obliged to go to bed. The Attorney-General's was the only invitation I did not accept, for I was then very ill."

The Major Hillier, at the head of Mr. Galt's list, was the Governor's military secretary. His form and manner are well hit off in one of MacKenzie's "Sketches of Canada." A message to the House from the Lieutenant-Governor is announced by three loud knocks at the door, and then—

"Enter Major Hillier, a neat little gentleman, in full military uniform, with sword, sash, and epaulettes, who makes two awfully profound obeisances at the bar; is half inclined to make two more as he passes the stove-pipe; and when he gets before the Speaker's chair, Lord Atterbury's reply to the Earl of Rochester, 'Yours to the centre, my Lord,' is well imitated by two bows, so very low, so very long, and so very solemn, as almost to say, 'Yours to the antipodes, Mr. Speaker.'

"Honest John Willson, of Wentworth, goes through this ordeal, and supports his part by corresponding inclinations of the head, and touches of the cocked hat with the hand. The Major hands the Speaker the precious documents from his Excellency, and then retires, after going through the same routine of bows and obeisances."

The Canada Company, as narrated, opened its first office in York in 1826. I now return to incidents at York in that year. The completion there of the fine steam-packet the *Canada*, intended to ply between York and Niagara, was an event of no small interest locally. It was built under the immediate superintendence of Captain Hugh Richardson, who sailed and commanded the boat for a series of years. The first trip of the *Canada* from York to Niagara took place on the 7th of August, 1826. Captain Richardson was afterwards Harbour Master at York, and survived down to 1870. He printed and circulated at an early period a treatise on the harbour of York, giving his views of the mode of its origination, and of the ruin which was being effected in it by the action of the river Don. He dedicated it to the inhabitants of the Town of York, and to the Province of Upper Canada. It was an ingenious production. Happily, nature itself causing an irruption of Lake Ontario into the harbour, has undertaken the removal of the baneful deposits of the Don in a way more

effectual than any of those suggested by Captain Richardson and other early theorizers on the subject.

In 1826 Mr. Fothergill ceased to be the publisher of the official *Gazette* and *Weekly Register*. He had been returned to Parliament as member for the County of Durham, and had ventured to express himself in the House in such a way as to imply censure on the Executive. It would have been a very great stretch of liberality in Sir Peregrine Maitland's Government, had the printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty been allowed to figure in the ranks of the Opposition with impunity. Mr. Fothergill was accordingly at once dismissed, and Mr. Robert Stanton appointed in his place. Mr. Stanton entitled the non-official paper attached to the *Gazette* the *U. E. Loyalist*, which came forth at a later period as a separate publication, under the name of *The Loyalist*. Mr. Fothergill afterwards conducted for several years a newspaper at York, called the *Palladium of British America*. A little later he introduced a measure in the House of Assembly for the fostering by a bonus of Agricultural Societies in every part of the province, which became a law, and gave the first effectual impulse to the holding of fairs and public markets for cattle in the more remote country situations throughout Upper Canada. Mr. Fothergill also did much for the promotion of science and literature at York. In conjunction with Dr. Rees and Dr. Dunlop, he projected an "Institute of Natural History and Philosophy," embracing a Museum with Botanical and Zoological Gardens attached. The scheme, too bold for the period, fell to the ground. A site, however, for the proposed establishment, was granted by the Governor-in-Council on the Garrison Common. Prior to his emigration to this country in December, 1823, Mr. Fothergill had published in London a clever and interesting work entitled, "An Essay on the Philosophy, Study and Use of Natural History." He was afterwards correspondent of the celebrated wood engraver and naturalist, Thomas Bewick, of Newcastle; and in Vol. I, p. 69 of the famous work on "British Birds," is a woodcut of an Eared or Horned Owl, stated there to have been contributed by Fothergill, with the remark: "The stuffed specimen of this rare and curious little bird, from which our figure and description were taken, was sent to the author by Mr. Charles Fothergill, late of York," meaning York in England. The identical specimen, engraved by Bewick, used to be shown to his friends by Mr. Fothergill when resident in the Canadian York. In July, 1823, he was proposing to undertake a work which would have proved of great assistance to subsequent investigators of Canadian annals, had it been carried into effect, "The Canadian Annual Register,

or a View of the History, Polities, Literature and Growth of the Canadas in all that constitutes the Wealth of Nations." It was to have been on the plan of Dodsley's Annual Register, and it was dedicated by anticipation to Sir Peregrine Maitland. For a series of years Mr. Fothergill issued the "York Almanac or Royal Calendar," a volume of between four and five hundred pages, containing an interesting and very useful "Sketch of the Present State of Canada," and a great deal of curious miscellaneous matter.

The incident of 1826, however, that most stirred the community at York, was the wilful destruction of the press and type of the *Colonial Advocate* newspaper. A party of young men, professing to be aggrieved by some personalities in its columns, having reference to their relatives or employers, forcibly entered the office on the 8th of June, in broad daylight, broke up the press, and threw the type into the bay. Besides being a flagrant breach of law, this act, as the event proved, was a most impolitic and short-sighted one. Instead of putting a stop to the criticisms of the *Colonial Advocate*, it was the means of indefinitely perpetuating them. The *Advocate*, it seems, was at the moment suspended, and would probably not have been issued again. Damages to the extent of £625 were awarded by a jury. That verdict re-established on a permanent footing the *Advocate* press, because, to use the proprietor's own words, "it enabled me to perform my engagements without disposing of my real property, and although it has several times been my wish to retire from the active duties of the press into the quiet paths of private life, I have had a presentiment that I should yet be able to evince my gratitude to the country which, in my utmost need, rescued me from utter ruin and destruction." The scene of this riotous proceeding was the foot of Frederick Street, at the south-west corner. The sufferers from the verdict were the following: Messrs. Baby, Sherwood, Lyons, Jarvis, Richardson, King, Heward and Macdougall.

A glimpse of manufacturing industry at York, or in its neighbourhood, at this period, is afforded by a paragraph prepared for the *Colonial Advocate* of August 9th, 1827 : "About three miles out of town, in the bottom of a deep ravine, watered by the River Don, and bounded also by beautiful and verdant flats, are situated the York paper mill, distillery, and Mr. Shepard's axe-grinding machinery, and Messrs. Helliwell's large and extensive brewery. I went out to view these improvements a few days ago," the editor writes, "and returned much gratified with witnessing the paper-manufacture in active operation; as also the bold and pleasing scenery on the banks of the Don." Important suggestions are then added: "The

river might be made navigable, with small expense, up to the brewery; and if the surrounding lands were laid out in five-acre lots all the way to town, they would sell to great advantage."

An evidence of the still continued ill-odour, in 1827, in remote parts of the Province, of York and the official personages resident there, is furnished by the tone of some of Dr. Dunlop's "Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada." The Talbot settlement on Lake Erie, Dr. Dunlop informs us, had begun to flourish, and to be remarkable for its superior agriculture and the excellency of its roads. A rush of land speculators from York to that quarter accordingly took place; but the prompt and blunt reply of Colonel Talbot was: "Not one foot of land do you get here." On this, we are told by Dr. Dunlop, war was declared against him by the authorities at York. But Talbot won, by means of his influence and personal presence occasionally in London, and escaped the control which was sought to be exercised over him from the capital.

As a set-off against the unfavourable impressions given of York and its inhabitants by some writers and tourists, I shall take an extract from the "Travels in North America in the years 1827 and 1828," by the celebrated Captain Basil Hall. I give the Captain's short description of a dinner at a friend's house at York. His visit took place in 1827. I should like to have given the name of Captain Hall's host. Readers now regret the etiquette of reticence which travellers of a former day so studiously observed. "Our dinner," Captain Hall says, "was laid under the fly of a tent on the rich green-sward of a dressed piece of ground sloping gently towards the lake. We sat on the eastern side of the house, so that by five o'clock the shadow fell upon us. The deep sea-blue surface of old Ontario was now quite smooth, for the morning breeze had fallen. . . . The air had become deliciously cool, and more grateful than I can describe, after the sultry day to which we had been exposed. The wine was plunged into a large vessel filled with ice, close to the table; but the water was cooled in a goglet, or unbaked earthen pitcher brought from Bengal." The kind of home life of which Captain Hall's words afford us a glimpse was going on in many another unpretending domicile at York, at the same moment.

Another officer of the Royal Navy, Lieutenant de Roos, had been in York in the preceding year. His stay there, however, was only for a few hours, and all he has to report is that "the streets are well laid out; and as the back country increases in population, this town promises to become a place of great importance. . . . We had not time to visit the Governmental and Parliament Houses. The Legislative Assembly," Lieu-

tenant de Roos then informs his readers, "sits during the six winter months of the year, which is also the season of sleighing, visiting, and merry-making.

CHAPTER II.

SHIFTINGS OF POSITION AMONG PUBLIC CHARACTERS AT YORK.—

RELIGIOUS JOURNALISM.—DR. DUNLOP'S IDEAS.—JUDGE WILLIS'S REMOVAL.—LEGAL PROMOTIONS CONSEQUENT THEREUPON.

MANY were the changes in the kaleidoscope of affairs at York in 1828-9. Sir Peregrine Maitland was "promoted" to Nova Scotia, and Sir John Colborne was sent out in his stead. Mr. Justice Willis, on account of incompatibility of character between himself and his brethren on the bench of Upper Canada was "amoved," as the technical expression was. So many persons were, like Judge Willis, "amoved," about this time, by the autocratic power of the Executive, that a new word came into existence, and was for a long time current in Upper Canada. The peccant individual was no longer said to be "amoved," but "Willised." Francis Collins, publisher of the *Canadian Freeman*, was in prison for libel, and was conducting his paper from a room in the gaol at York, setting up his editorials with his own hands, straight from his brain, without the intervention of manuscript copy. Mr. Mackenzie, now quite easy in his circumstances, was qualified to sit in the House as a member of Parliament, and had been returned as one of the representatives of the County of York. He also continued the issue of his universally-read journal, the *Colonial Advocate*, closely packed every week with an extraordinary mass of disconnected paragraphs, in a great variety of type, and in every mode of display, each one of them bearing on a political grievance, or suggesting some social improvement in York, and Upper Canada generally. The subtle causes leading to this situation of affairs must be sought for in the general history of the country, and in the law reports of the period.

Before proceeding with my notices of public and provincial affairs, I proceed to dispose of some matters of narrower local interest. The establishment of a certain periodical journal or newspaper at York in 1829 must be recorded. It has survived all its contemporaries and pre-

decessors at York, except the official *Gazette*, and it flourishes in 1884 in full vigour. I refer to the *Christian Guardian*. This was an early example of a kind of publication which was then only coming into vogue. The *Christian Guardian* had for its aim the promotion of a special religious interest, and the supply at the same time to families and households of some knowledge of incidents occurring throughout the world, together with much wholesome reading of a general character. Such an employment of the press is plainly legitimate; and the practice of establishing organs for the circulation of their views has been adopted among almost all bodies of Christians.

It is somewhat amusing to observe how this use of a secular engine for the furtherance of religious movements puzzled Dr. Dunlop. In his clever "Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada, by a Backwoodsman," he indulges in much ill-considered theorizing on the subject, with special reference to the then somewhat novel periodical at York. Like many another shrewd and gifted man at York, Dr. Dunlop failed to "discern the times" in which he lived and moved. He condemned the new fashion of pressing religious considerations on the world in newspaper form as being peculiarly American, and as being, in fact, a species of desecration. "The blasphemous mixture of political and religious dogmas," he sententiously observed, "must be pernicious in the extreme to the true interests of Christianity. Pure religion is like pure gold—it cannot be alloyed without being depreciated." The freedom of the press as regarded discussions of matters in Church, as well as in State, which Dr. Dunlop would have approved, was of a very exclusive character.

As to Dr. Dunlop, although a resident of Goderich rather than York, he was a well-known personage in the latter place. It may accordingly be of interest to be reminded that among the many etchings in Maclise's well-known "Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters," one of the best is that which represents Dr. Dunlop. Dr. Maginn, editor of "Frazer's Magazine," closes his notice of the Doctor in this "Gallery," in the following strain: "Though Toryism were expelled from all the rest of the globe, it would find shelter in the log-house of Dunlop." Dr. Dunlop's personal appearance is jocosely described in the same article, thus: "This remarkable biped stands six feet three inches, and measures two feet eight across the shoulders; the calf is just twenty inches in circumference; *ex pede Herculem*; the paw would have startled Ali Paeha; the fur is of the genuine Caledonian redness and roughness, and the hide, from long exposure to Eurus and Boreas, has acquired such a firmness of texture that he shaves with a brick-bat." Dunlop, at the time of Maginn's writing,

was in London for a few weeks, "to worry," Dr. Maginn says, "Goderich and Howick (ministers of the day) about some beastly proceedings of our degraded Government. . . . Farewell, noble savage, wild as thy woods! When shall we again revel in the rich luxuriance of thy anecdotes, or shake under the Titanic bray of thy laughter?"

Some other shiftings of position among the *dramatis personae* of York at this time, consequent on the "removal" of Judge Willis, will be sufficiently indicated, without requiring detailed explanation, by a paragraph or two taken from numbers of the *Loyalist* in 1829. Thus, in the number for May 2nd, we read: "Information is received which places it beyond all doubt that the course pursued by this Government in the case of Mr. Justice Willis has received the entire approbation of His Majesty's Government. The result of the deliberation of His Majesty's Council is the removal of Mr. Willis from office. We understand that after counsel had been heard at great length on behalf of Mr. Willis, the King's Council came to an immediate decision. The confidential nature of their report, however, and the time necessary for preparing it to be submitted for His Majesty's approval, will account for any apparent delay in making their decision public." And again, in the number for May 23rd, we have "Law appointments. In addition to the information lately received of the retirement of the Hon. Mr. Chief Justice Campbell, and of his seat on the Bench being filled by Mr. Attorney-General Robinson, we are informed that the following appointments are to be made: The Hon. J. B. Macaulay, puisne-judge; Mr. Solicitor-General Boulton, to succeed Mr. Robinson, Attorney-General, and Mr. Hagerman to fill the situation of Solicitor-General of the Province."

The advancement announced in the second of these paragraphs of Attorney-General Robinson to the Chief Justiceship of Upper Canada, in the room of Chief Justice Campbell, was a fitting crown to a distinguished political career. Mr. Robinson's handsome, winning presence, fine personal qualities, and pre-eminent gifts of intellect and eloquence, caused him to be beloved and reverenced by friends and supporters, as well as sincerely respected by the rest of the community who did not accept his views of State affairs.

CHAPTER III.

SIR JOHN COLBORNE AT YORK.—LEGISLATION.—NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS.—OSGOODE HALL.—UPPER CANADA COLLEGE.—PRICES.—GAME AND WILD PIGEONS.

SIR JOHN COLBORNE was another military Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada; not uninvested with historical associations; reproachless in character; nay, given to high and chivalrous aims, in every post to which duty had called him; tall, picturesque and soldierly in form; a general officer, who, like Sir Peregrine Maitland, had held an important command at Waterloo, and previously been distinguished in the Peninsula. In Gleig's "Lives of Eminent British Military Commanders," his name frequently occurs in connection with that of Sir John Moore, at whose death he was present; and in Sir William Napier's "History of the War in the Peninsula," the encomium is passed upon him of being "a man of singular talent for war." He bore about with him conspicuous evidence of being one who had known the shock of battle. A mutilated shoulder, and a right arm partially disabled, were signs and seals of heroism, impressed on his person at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo.

Sir John Colborne promised to be an excellent transition Governor for Upper Canada; being more genial and frank in manner than his predecessor; less disposed to yield himself up implicitly to the traditional local advisers; and more inclined to recognize popular rights, and respect the freedom of the press. To have thrust upon him their grievances so pointedly as they did, at the very moment of his arrival at York, was impolitic on the part of the reforming party. It was not to be expected that the new Governor would instantly make sweeping changes, or that he would at once, by his acts, pronounce a condemnation on the conduct of the ruler whom he had just succeeded. The impatience of the party forced him to take up a position which at first he was not at all disposed to assume. Here is a passage from an address of welcome presented to Sir John Colborne by "His Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects the inhabitants of York and its vicinity," but not signed, nevertheless, we may be sure, by a goodly number of those inhabitants: "We cannot conceal from your Excellency, without a sacrifice of candour, that there are many very

important subjects which have deeply affected the feelings of the people. But we are solicitous to regard the accession of your Excellency to the government of this Province as the commencement of a new era in which your Excellency, above the prevailing influences of political dissensions, and unhappy advice, will prove our constitutional benefactor, and realize the paternal wishes of our most Gracious Sovereign to bless his people with mild, just and conciliatory principles of Government." In a second address, presented immediately after, they are more explicit. They ask him at once to assemble the Parliament: "Whilst we, the undersigned inhabitants of York and its vicinity, regret extremely that our first welcome should be embittered by complaint and prayer: and while it is far from our disposition or intention to call on your Excellency, at the moment of your arrival, to interfere in any manner, with the proceedings of the Courts of Justice, even with the most splendid prerogative of your office, the administration of judgment in mercy, yet feeling ourselves disregarded and our rights endangered by many late proceedings of the provincial administration; and amongst those proceedings as especially worthy of notice on this occasion, by the late arbitrary and unconstitutional removal of a Judge highly and justly esteemed by us; by the destruction of one independent press; by a violence almost burglarious, by clerks, relations and dependents of men in office and power; by the silencing another press by means of unconstitutional security exacted of its editor before conviction of any fault; and now by the virtual suppression of a third independent press by a most severe and disproportionate sentence passed on its editor, Francis Collins, on a libel: a sentence fraught with a measure of punishment against the temperance and moderation expressed by the jury who convicted him, and against the spirit of the expressive charter of British Rights, that great pledge of safety to the subject 'that no man shall be fined to his ruin'—we, the undersigned, pressed by such grievances, entreat that your Excellency will please, as speedily as possible, to convene the Provincial Parliament, to whom we may make our complaints; and by which course your Excellency may, through that legitimate and constitutional channel, arrive at the knowledge of the true state of the country, a thing not attainable by your Excellency through the advisers of your Excellency's misguided predecessor."

The Parliament was not instantly assembled; but about the customary time, viz., on the 8th of January [1829], it met at York. In their Address on the Speech, the Lower House seize on a recommendation contained in it to repeal a certain existing Act "for the better securing the Province against all seditious attempts or designs to disturb the tranquillity there-

of," and make it a subject of congratulation and compliment to the Governor: "It affords us the highest gratification to receive such a mark of your Excellency's regard for the constitutional wishes and feelings of the people; and we beg leave humbly to assure your Excellency that nothing, in our opinion, will more happily tend to spread contentment and give an impulse to public spirit and enterprise than the continued manifestation by your Excellency of the same liberal and enlightened policy."

The session lasted until the 22nd of March. Twenty-five Acts were passed. In the summary given in the *Loyalist* newspaper, it is stated that besides the passing of these Acts, "addresses to the king were voted, with resolutions on the subject of Francis Collins and the removal of Mr. Justice Willis."

At the conclusion of this session, however, the Lieutenant-Governor had occasion to say:—"I cannot close this session without expressing my regret that the people will derive no immediate advantage from your deliberations on two subjects of primary importance—improvement of public schools, and the measure that should be adopted to ensure good roads and safe bridges throughout the province. In allowing your roads to remain in their present state, the great stimulus to agricultural industry is lost."

In reply to a proposal on the part of the House to supply funds for the civil list, they were told no money was required from them. "I thank you for your offer of making a provision for the support of the Civil Government," the Governor said, "which I should have gladly accepted in his Majesty's name, had not the revenue arising from the statute of the 14th of Geo. III., chapter 88, the appropriation of which for the Public Service is under the control of the crown, appeared quite sufficient to defray the expenses of the current year. An intimation to this effect was conveyed to you in my reply to one of your addresses early in the present month." The exasperating indifference to the will of the House is thus accounted for. It may be added, that in a short time orders were received from England for the liberation of Collins, and the remission of the fine of £50 which had been imposed.

In May, 1829, the following advertisement appears in the columns of the *Loyalist*. "Parliament Buildings.—Sealed tenders for erecting buildings for the Legislature at York will be received on the first Monday of June next. Plans, elevations and specifications of the buildings may be seen after the 14th day of May next, on application to Grant Powell, Esq., from whom further information will be received." It was thus that the Lieutenant-Governor, soon after the close of the session, proceeded to give

effect to the vote of a former Parliament in 1826, which set apart £7,000 for new Parliament Buildings. The General Hospital, where the Parliament had been temporarily accommodated since the fire of 1824, was now required for its proper use. Such was the inception of the Parliament Buildings which in 1884 are still doing duty, but which, it is to be hoped, are on the point of being replaced by others more worthy of the Province, more noble in their aspect, and better adapted to their important purpose.

The *Loyalist* newspaper informs the public of the site selected for the proposed edifice thus: "The Building, *i.e.*, the new Parliament House, will stand in Simcoe Place, a Square containing six acres; a very fine situation facing the Bay, and in front of Government House." On early plans of York this piece of ground is marked "Simcoe Place." In the preceding session £230 had been voted for building the Don Bridge, on the Kingston Road. The intended improvement was now also carried into effect. This was the tubular, covered-in Don Bridge, afterwards undermined and carried away by a freshet.

In the year 1829, the important and conspicuous building known as Osgoode Hall was commenced. The original portion which now began to be visible at the head of York Street was what is at present simply its eastern wing. This edifice was designed to be the head-quarters of the Law Society of Upper Canada, instituted in 1797, and incorporated in 1822. Its cost was defrayed out of the funds of the Society. The erection of this building was chiefly promoted and superintended by Dr. W. W. Baldwin, of Spadina House, on Spadina Hill, a proficient in the law, as we have already heard, as well as in medicine. The building has its name from Chief Justice Osgoode, the first legal officer of that rank in Upper Canada. Among the many interesting portraits in oil of high legal functionaries preserved in various parts of this building, there is an excellent one of Chief Justice Osgoode himself, from whom the Hall has its name, copied from a portrait taken from life, in the possession of Captain John Kennaway Simcoe, R.N., the present occupant of Wolford, the family seat, in Devonshire, of the founder of the Upper Canadian York. Before the erection of the building at the head of York Street, sittings of the benchers and examinations of law students took place for a time in the building already spoken of as Russell Abbey. The ordinary appellation of Osgoode Hall among the populace of the neighbourhood was for a long period "Lawyers' Hall."

The object of the Law Society of Upper Canada is set forth in an "Act for the better regulating the Practice of the Law," passed at Newark,

July 3rd, 1797. The then practitioners in Upper Canada were allowed to form themselves into a society, "as well for the establishing of order among themselves as for the purpose of securing to the Province and the profession a learned and honourable Body, to assist their fellow-subjects as occasion may require, and to support and maintain the constitution of the said Province."

When the Parliament assembled again at York, in 1830 (January 8th), a good deal of the popularity of the Lieutenant-Governor with the reforming party had passed away. The caution which he had observed, acting, doubtless, under strict orders from his superiors in London, had tried their patience. In their Address in reply to the opening Speech, the demand was again made for the dismissal of the existing Executive Council. But the Governor still declined to commit himself. The reply to the Address of the House was : "I thank you for your Address," and that was all. In the curtness of the words we are not to see sullenness or displeasure, as would have been indicated in the case of the preceding Governor, but simply a kind of amused reticence on the part of one who waited with curiosity to see what would happen next.

Another famous reply of Sir John Colborne's, at a somewhat later period, to a petition presented by a numerous deputation from the country, was, "Gentlemen, I have received the petition of the inhabitants :"—and again, no more; a reminiscence probably at the moment crossing the mind of the speaker of some troublesome village or town in the Peninsula a few years back. On this occasion, it is said, Government House, at York, where the petition was expected to be presented, was put in a state of strong military defence. That such relations should have come into existence between a ruler of pure and noble intentions and any portion of the people under his sway, is saddening in the retrospect; at a time, too, when numerous circumstances were concurring to make the country very prosperous. At the opening of a session of Parliament held at York in October, 1832, the Lieutenant-Governor was able to address the House in terms like these :—"The continued immigration, unprecedented as regards the industry and capital transferred to this country from the Parent State, is, by its beneficial influence, bringing the Province rapidly forward, and opening to you the fairest prospects. Your deliberations, therefore, cannot but render this session of peculiar importance to the general interests of the colony. You will learn with satisfaction that the population has increased not less than a fourth since the report forwarded for your information last session; that the immigrants, with few exceptions, are fully occupied in the districts in which they are established; and that the

extensive agricultural improvements and actual cultivation, promise support and employment for our countrymen whom the current of events may induce to fix their abode in this part of the Empire." Nevertheless, it was a certain thing with those who had adopted the reforming views, that these circumstances of prosperity were no proof that there was nothing wrong in the administration of affairs. With them it continued to be a certain thing, that until the relations of the few to the many throughout the whole of Canada were made permanently just, there could be no enduring contentment or real happiness among the people at large, let the material prosperity of the country be what it might.

Another monument of the era of Sir John Colborne, established at York, still endures in the institution known as Upper Canada College. This great Public School was brought into complete operation through the instrumentality of this Lieutenant-Governor in 1830. Tenders for the erection of the buildings were advertised for in the *Loyalist* of May 2nd, in the preceding year, in these words: "Minor College.—Sealed Tenders for erecting a school-house and four dwelling-houses, will be received on the first Monday of June next. Plans, elevations and specifications may be seen after the 12th instant, on application to the Hon. George Markland, from whom further information may be received. York, 1st May, 1829."

In Sir John Colborne's opening speech, on the 8th of January, 1829, after the remark—"the public schools are generally increasing, but their present organization seems susceptible of improvement," there occurs this passage: "Measures will be adopted, I hope, to reform the Royal Grammar School, and to incorporate it with the University recently endowed by his Majesty, and to introduce a system in that seminary that will open to the youth of the Province the means of receiving a liberal and extensive course of instruction. Unceasing exertion should be made to attract able masters to this country, where the population bears no proportion to the number of offices and employments that must necessarily be held by men of education and acquirements, disposed to support the laws and your free institutions."

In the general form given to the echo of this portion of the Speech on the Address from the Commons, there is a good deal of meaning. "We will direct our anxious attention to the state of the public schools," the House of Assembly said, "and consider what improvements in the present imperfect and unsatisfactory system are best calculated to open to the youth of this Province the means of receiving a liberal and extensive course of instruction; and we are fully sensible of the vast im-

portance of unceasing exertions to attract able masters to the country, where the population and wealth bear no proportion to the number of offices and employments, which ought to be held by men of education and acquirements disposed to support the laws, and, what we are highly gratified to find so favourably mentioned by your Excellency, the free institutions of our country." Satire possibly lurked in the expression "ought to be held."

When Sir John Colborne arrived in Upper Canada, he came straight from Guernsey, and fresh from a task of educational reform accomplished by him in that island. He had rendered his administration there memorable by the successful renovation and modernization of Elizabeth College, a foundation of the times of Queen Elizabeth, but fallen to decay. In Upper Canada, a formal university, after the model of the English universities, had been from the beginning an element in the polity of the country : but actually to set up and put in motion such a piece of learned machinery seemed hitherto premature. On his settlement at York, Sir John Colborne soon made up his mind not to push forward into immediate existence, as by some he was urged to do, the larger establishment, but to found a preliminary and preparatory institution, which should meet the immediate educational wants of the community. He obtained the sanction of the home authorities ; and the substance of a despatch from head-quarters on the subject was communicated to the House in the following terms, which shew a certain indefiniteness, as yet, in regard to the organization and exact aim of the proposed establishment : "The advantages that will result from an institution conducted by nine or ten able masters, under whose tuition the youth of the Province could be prepared for any profession, are indisputable ; and if such a school were permanently established, and the charter (of King's College) so modified that any professor shall be eligible for the Council, and that the students of the college shall have liberty and faculty of taking degrees in the manner that shall hereafter be directed by the statutes and ordinances framed by his Majesty's government, the University must flourish, and prove highly beneficial to the colony."

By adopting this line of action, Sir John Colborne lost the favour of some of the customary advisers of Lieutenant-Governors in Upper Canada, as seeming to postpone the establishment of the University proper to a very distant day ; but he gained the gratitude of many throughout the country.

With the necessary modifications, Elizabeth College, Guernsey, was reproduced at York, in the institution which soon became famous far and wide as Upper Canada College. Among some it was long fami-

liarily spoken of as the Minor College, with allusion to the University which was to be; and this was the title placed, as we have seen, at the head of the original advertisement for tenders. The *Loyalist* newspaper refers to the institution, while yet in embryo, as Colborne College, as if to suggest that name for it.

The Rev. Dr. Harris, with a staff of masters, for the most part selected in England, was nominated as the head of the new institution, and entrusted with the task of its actual organization. Dr. Harris himself had been highly distinguished at the University of Cambridge, where he had been a Fellow of Clare Hall. Dr. Phillips, the Vice-Principal, was also a Cambridge man, long since graduated at Queen's College. He was already in the country, at the head of the District or Royal Grammar School at York. Mr. Dade, the mathematical master, was, at the time of his appointment, a Fellow of Caius College, and continued for a number of years still to retain that honourable distinction. Mr. Mathews, the first classical master, was a graduate of Pembroke College, a brilliant classical scholar, and a proficient in Hebrew, having won the Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship of the University; and Mr. Boulton, the second classical master, a son of Mr. Justice Boulton, of York, was a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford, and for some time engaged in tuition in the old-endowed Blundell's School, at Tiverton, Devon. Each of these gentlemen was an acquisition to the community at York. They were all of them instrumental in inaugurating and fostering in Upper Canada a species of scholarship which is peculiarly English. "The jar long retains the odour of the wine with which, when new, it was first filled." To this day there lingers here and there in Canada, Upper and Lower, some of the aroma of the old Massie first supplied to the country by Dr. Harris and his colleagues. Another gentleman attached to Upper Canada College by Sir John Colborne was Mr. Drury, an artist of no ordinary skill, whose paintings in oil of scenery about the Falls of Niagara and in the White Mountains were held by judges to be remarkable. Mr. Drury did a good deal in the way of cultivating art and artistic matters at York. The same may be said of Mr. J. G. Howard, afterwards the eminent architect at York, who, although not brought out expressly to undertake duties in Upper Canada College, was attached to that institution very soon by Sir John Colborne. The French Master was Mr. J. P. de la Haye, of St. Malo, who had had much experience in schools in England.

The plot of ground on which the College buildings were erected had previously been known as Russell Square. While these were being pre-

pared, the work of the College began in the old District or Royal Grammar School, situate, at the time, at the southern corner of March and Nelson Streets (to-day, Lombard and Jarvis Streets), but previously placed in the middle of the school block defined by Church, Adelaide, Jarvis and Richmond Streets, a building itself already memorable to many in Upper Canada as the scene of their boyish training in the *literæ humaniores*. For the purposes of the new College, the interior of the old school was divided into rooms by panelled partitions, which reached not quite to the ceiling, one room being assigned to each master. The rooms of the Principal and Mathematical Master were up-stairs, as was also the Assembling or Prayer Hall. In 1831, teaching began in the new building, and there the first examination and distribution of prizes took place.

A curious adverse criticism of Dr. Dunlop's, on the first appointments at Upper Canada College, was that they were chiefly Cambridge men. In his "Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada," already quoted, he takes the trouble to say: "The only objection (to the new institution at York) is that the majority of the masters are Cantabs; whereas it would have been more advisable had they been selected from the more orthodox and gentlemanly University." In which remark we have a record of a foolish prejudice on the part of Dr. Dunlop, derived, possibly, from his long association with writers in *Blackwood* and *Fraser*, among whom the fixed notion prevailed that Cambridge was innately Whiggish, and, therefore, not gentlemanly.

I come now to notice a charitable bazaar, held at York in 1832, under the auspices and through the direct personal action of Lady Colborne. It claims a place in these annals, as having been the first ever seen on a large scale in York.

The bazaar, or fancy fair for charitable purposes, was probably to a great extent a novelty, even in England, at the time. The object of the one now held at York was the relief of orphans and others rendered desolate by the ravages of the cholera, and other causes. This long remembered sale took place on the 2nd of September, in one of the large Commissariat storehouses built on the beach near the foot of John Street. An upper flat was cleared of its contents. The sides of the walls and the beams overhead were decorated with flags and festoons of bunting. About the floor were placed tables covered with articles contributed by the promoters of the scheme. The entrance to the flat used was by a gangway leading straight into it from the top of the bank overlooking the beach. One of the salutary effects, and not the least, of this bazaar, was the

drawing together in a kindly spirit, if only for a few days, of all classes, in a community painfully split up by the chronic political differences of the period.

The January number of *Sibbold's Guardian Magazine* (1833), published at York, reports of the bazaar thus: "All the fashionable and well-disposed attended; the band of the gallant 79th Regiment played; at each table stood a lady, and in a very short time all the articles were sold to gentlemen, who will keep as the apple of their eye the things made and presented by such hands. The sum collected," it is then added, "was three hundred and eleven pounds."

The current price of animals, produce and provisions at York, at this period (January, 1833) may be learned from the number of *Sibbold's Magazine* just named: Horse for saddle or waggon, £15 to £20; bulls, £8 to £10; oxen, yoke of, £15 to £20; cows, £3 10s. to £5; calves, under a year, £1 10s.; sheep, 10s. to 15s.; beef, per hundred pounds, £1 to £1 5s.; mutton, per pound, 3d.; veal, per pound, 4d.; pork, per hundred pounds, £1 3s. 9d.; pork, salted, per hundred pounds, £1 10s.; ham, per pound, 5d.; geese, 1s. 10½d. to 2s. 6d.; turkeys, 2s. 6d. to 5s.; ducks, per couple, 4s.; fowls, each, 7½d. to 1s.; eggs, per dozen, 1s. 3d.; cheese, per hundred, £1 5s.; butter, per pound, 1s.; milk, per quart, 3½d.; wheat, per bushel, 3s. 9d.; barley, per bushel, 2s. 6d.; oats, per bushel, 2s.; Indian corn, per bushel, 3s. 9d.; potatoes, per bushel, 2s. 6d.; turnips, per bushel, 1s. 3d.; peas, per bushel, 3s.; apples, per bushel, 2s. 6d. to 3s. 9d.; hay, per ton, £4 10s. to £5 10s.; cordwood, eight feet long, four broad and four high, 10s.; loaf sugar, per pound, 7½d.; museovado sugar, per pound, 6d.; tea, (black), 3s. 6d.; tea (green), 3s. 6d. to 3s. 9d.; coffee (raw), 1s. to 1s. 3d.; coffee (ground), 1s. 6d.; whiskey, per gallon, 2s. to 2s. 3d.; brandy (cognac), per gallon, 10s.; brandy (Bordeaux), per gallon, 5s. 6d.; gin Hollands, per gallon, 7s. to 7s. 6d.; wine, per gallon, 6s. to 15s.; soap, per pound, 6d.; flour, per barrel, £1 to £1 5s. Dr. Dunlop, in his already often quoted "Statistical Sketches," expresses his surprise, in 1832, that so little game and fish were offered for sale at York. His words are: "York, on the banks of a lake, and surrounded by a forest, is, not to say indifferently supplied, but positively without, anything like a regular supply of fish or game; and when you do, by accident, stumble on a brace of partridges, or a couple of wild ducks, you pay more for them than you would in almost any part of Great Britain, London excepted. In fact, unless a man is himself a sportsman, or has friends who are so, and who send him game, he may live seven years in York, and, with the exception of an occasional haunch or saddle of venison, may never see game on his table."

It appears, however, from Dunlop, that materials for pigeon-pie were sometimes very abundant at York : "About two summers ago," he writes, in 1832, "a stream of wild pigeons took it into their heads to fly over York ; and for three or four days the town resounded with one continued roll of firing, as if a skirmish were going on in the streets. Every gun, pistol, musket, blunderbuss and firearm of whatever description, was put in requisition. The constables and police magistrates were on the alert, and offenders without number were pulled up; among them were honourable members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, Crown lawyers, respectable, staid citizens, and, last of all, the Sheriff of the county ; till at last it was found that pigeons, flying within easy shot, were a temptation too strong for human virtue to withstand, and so the contest was given up." Apropos of delicacies at York : Captain Hamilton, writing as "the author of Cyril Thornton," in his "Men and Manners in America," expressed his surprise that excellent ice-creams could be procured there in 1832. "In passing through the streets, I was rather surprised," he says, "to observe an *affiche* intimating that ice-creams were to be had within. The weather being hot, I entered, and found the master of the establishment to be an Italian. I never ate better ice at Grange's" (some fashionable resort in London, probably). This Italian was Franco Rossi, 217 King Street West. He and the signora are well remembered.

I add here an observation on certain alleged sporting propensities at York, made at this period by Lieutenant Coke, in his "Subaltern's Furlough." It is a good example of the senseless generalization which tourists will occasionally make, from a solitary, or at all events, a rarely occurring incident which they may have chanced to witness. "There are no places of amusement (at York)," the Lieutenant writes, "and the chief diversion of the young men appeared to consist in shooting mosquito hawks, which hovered plentifully about the streets and upon the margin of the bay of an evening. Upon these occasions the sportsmen make their appearance, equipped in shooting-jackets and accompanied by their dogs, as if prepared for a 12th of August on the moors of Scotland." The harmless, nay beneficent, night-hawks, ancestors of the numerous birds of that species still to be heard in the skies over the same region, swooping down on cockchafers and beetles, could scarcely have been the quarry which Lieutenant Coke's young men were really in quest of. Snipe and woodcock were to be found in most places everywhere round York, at the proper season, especially in the evening. As to woodcock at York, I subjoin what Major T. W. Magrath says in his clever "Authentic Letters from Upper Canada," Dublin, 1833 : "It

appears extraordinary to a sportsman coming from the old country, who has been accustomed to shoot woodcocks in the depth of winter, to find, on his arrival here, that the summer months are those when that sport is enjoyed in high perfection—not at the moment reflecting that they, being birds of passage, will be led by instinct to desert the northern latitudes (before they become bound in impenetrable frost) for milder climes, whose unfrozen springs are better suited to their manner of subsistence. . . . As a specimen of the sport, I have known Mr. Charles Heward, of York, to have shot, in one day, thirty brace, at Chippewa, close to the Falls of Niagara; and I myself, who am far from being a first-rate shot, have frequently brought home from twelve to fourteen brace, my brothers performing their parts with equal success."

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AT YORK.—MACKENZIE'S EXPULSIONS.—A PROCESSION.
—MACKENZIE IN ENGLAND.—BACK AGAIN IN YORK.—THE REFORM
PARTY'S AIM.

THE visitation of Asiatic cholera, already mentioned, casts a gloom over the period at which we have arrived. For a time it paralyzed general business and enterprise at York; although it may have had the beneficial effect of turning the minds of people resident there to the necessity of organization for sanitary, as for other purposes. A population of nearly ten thousand had congregated together; and nothing worth the naming had as yet been done for the drainage and general cleanliness of the place.

The last three or four years of the Fourth Decade of York are also not pleasant to contemplate on account of the distracted condition of the community, and of the whole country, arising out of an accumulation of mistakes on the part of the ruling powers on the spot and in the Mother Country. The very intensity of the antagonism of parties about this time, however, gave promise of the approach of a crisis. The maintainers of popular rights at York and elsewhere were being driven to desperation. The party of the Executive, when defeated in the Assembly, were pretty sure that the measure obnoxious to them would be re-

jected in the Council. And when, through the general election of 1832, they acquired a majority in the House, they at once tried to make their successes doubly sure, by decreeing public strictures on their proceedings to be a criminal infringement of privilege. When Mr. Mackenzie, in his place as one of the members for the county of York, ventured fearlessly to expose what he believed to be the viciousness of the banking system lately introduced at York, he was speedily got rid of. Ingeniously contrived charges were urgently pressed, and he was expelled the House. Re-election followed, of course; and re-expulsion—a process repeated five times; the removal from the House being more than once by the aid of force. It is not within my province, as annalist simply of York, to go very extensively into particulars. As a summary, I subjoin a toast preserved in Mackenzie's "Sketches," offered at a Typographical Society's meeting at Albany, in 1832. In printers' language, the situation was as follows:—"The Parliament of Upper Canada: a form of squabbled matter, lock'd up in the chase of restriction, with the quoins of violence and dissension, whose capitals are continually falling out."

A spectacular phenomenon or pageant in the streets of York, on the 2nd of January, 1832, connected with the troubles of the time, must be mentioned. It was a demonstration to celebrate the second return of Mr. Mackenzie, after expulsion. I adopt a description given by himself in his "Sketches": "A procession was formed (at the Red Lion Inn, on Yonge Street—Price's or Tiers's, where the hustings were). In front of it was an immense sleigh belonging to Mr. Montgomery, which was drawn by four horses, and carried between twenty and thirty men and two or three Highland pipers. From fifty to one hundred sleighs followed, and between one and two thousand of the inhabitants. The procession passed by the Government House, from thence to the Parliament House, thence to Mr. Cawthra's, and then to Mr. Mackenzie's own house, giving cheers at each of these places. One of the most singular curiosities of the day," it is added, "was a little printing-press, placed on one of the sleighs, warmed by a furnace, on which a couple of boys continued, while moving through the streets, to strike off their New Year's Address, and throw it to the people. Over the press was hoisted a crimson flag, with the motto, 'The Liberty of the Press.' The mottoes on the other flags were—'King William IV. and Reform,'—'Bidwell and the glorious minority,'—'1832, a Good Beginning,'—'A Free Press, the Terror of Sycophants.' The proceedings were conducted with general order and sobriety, though with much spirit." It should be stated that, on the apex of Mr. Montgomery's pyramidal sleigh, stood the hero of the day himself, wearing the golden chain and medal

presented to him, a few hours previously, at the Red Lion, by his constituents. It must be added, that Mackenzie's attempts about this time, by means of newspaper paragraphs and almanac items, to affect the minds of the common soldiers of the regiments then in the country, by artfully-contrived appeals to their respective nationalities, with a view to inducing them, on an emergency, to disobey their officers and fraternize with the party of reform, was in every way reprehensible.

A day or two after the procession, when the re-elected member had taken his seat, and it was moved that he should be re-expelled, the chain and medal came forth to view again; now in the presence of the assembled Legislature, in a scene which has thus been described: "Mr. Mackenzie attempted to convince the House of its error by shewing that it was setting itself in opposition to public opinion; and pointing, in proof, to the approbation of his constituents, as shewn both by his re-election and the gold medal that had been presented to him. He then took out of his pocket the massive object, and by means of the enormous chain of the same material, suspended it round his neck, declaring that he would wear it while he held his seat, if it were only for an hour." Being interrupted in his explanations, and declared out of order by the Speaker, he withdrew from the building in disgust; when the vote for re-expulsion was taken, with the following result. Yeas,—Messrs. Attorney-General, Berezy, G. Boulton, Brown, Burwell, Chisholm, Crooks, T. Elliott, A. Frazer, Jarvis, Jones, Lewis, Magon, McMartin, Maenab, Morris, Mount, Robinson, Samson, Shade, Solicitor-General, Thompson, VanKoughnet, Warren, John Willson, W. Wilson, and Werden—27. Nays,—Messrs. Beardsley, Bidwell, Buell, Campbell, Clark, Cook, Duncombe, Howard, Ketchum, Lyons, McCall, A. McDonald, D. McDonald, Norton, Perry, Randal, Roblin, Shaver, and White.—19.

In May, 1832, Mr. Mackenzie was on his way to England, as the delegate of a "central committee of the friends of civil and religious liberty," in the county of York and the surrounding districts. He was commissioned to bring before the people of Great Britain, in every possible way, the grievances of the people of Upper Canada. The time was held to be propitious for the purpose. A reforming king, William IV., was on the throne, and the commons of the mother country were just about to recover their legitimate share in the government by the passing of a measure for their better representation in Parliament. What the commons of Upper Canada were seeking was to obtain the same advantage; the reality of it in addition to the semblance. Hume, Brougham, Ellice, O'Connell, Cobbett, and leaders of the Liberal party generally, gave the Upper Can-

ada delegate a friendly reception. He was listened to also with great consideration by the Colonial Minister, Lord Goderich. During his absence in England, the ceremony of expulsion was repeated at York, the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, Mr. Boulton and Mr. Hagerman, taking a prominent part in the proceedings. This gave grave offence at the Colonial Office, as they had been censured already from that quarter for pronouncing the previous expulsions constitutional. They were accordingly dismissed. The exultation at York among Mr. Mackenzie's friends was, of course, very great; while in the opposite ranks all was dismay and irritation, and the York *Courier*, a Government organ, ventured to express itself thus: "The minds of the well-affected begin to be unhinged. They already begin to cast about in their mind's eye for some new state of political existence which shall effectually put the colony without the pale of British connexion."

While Mr. Mackenzie was in England, Lord Goderich resigned the office of Colonial Secretary, and was succeeded by Mr. Stanley. Mr. Boulton and Mr. Hagerman were soon in London themselves. The explanations offered by Mr. Hagerman were considered so satisfactory by Mr. Stanley that he was re-instated as Solicitor-General; and although it was not thought expedient that Mr. Boulton should reassume official functions at York, he received an appointment in Newfoundland. It now became the turn of the reforming party at York to be angry, and to echo and retail whatever rash things Mr. Hume or others in England might be tempted to write on the occasion, about the "baneful domination of the mother country," so that by the time of Mr. Mackenzie's return to York, in August, 1833, the feeling of exasperation on both sides was more intense than ever. The incidents of this period in the annals of York are painful to read of, and interesting only so far as they were clearly steps in the process whereby the constitution of Canada was made truly, and not in name only, an "image and transcript" of Great Britain; steps in the process whereby the people of Upper Canada finally obtained what the parent state had itself only recently recovered—a just representation in the Commons' House, and an Executive responsible to themselves, as thus represented in all matters relating to their own affairs. This, as it now appears, was all that the Reform party of Upper Canada had been aiming at, from the days of President Russell to those of Sir John Colborne.

CHAPTER V.

YORK VANISHES. TORONTO APPEARS.

" Time is like a fashionable host
 That slightly shakes his parting guest by the hand,
 And with his arms outstretched, as he would fly,
 Grasps-in the comer : welcome ever smiles,
 And farewell goes out sighing.

—SHAKSPLARE : *Tr. and Cres.*, i. 3.

N the meantime the Upper Canadian York, through evil report and good, grew and spread, expanding naturally according to the conditions and laws of its circumstances. The scenes of its first glories were early abandoned. The Park reserved for government purposes, destined, as was grandly imagined, to be adorned in the future with departmental buildings, each surrounded by its own ornamental grounds, became, for a time, a quarter wholly ineligible in point of beauty of scenery and salubrity of air. The place of its Halls of Parliament, its Palace of Government, after remaining desolate for years as an appendage too extensive, was utilized by being made then the site of a prison and gas-works. The time, however, came when, as has been already stated, not a square rood in any part of the great area over which the town that was York had spread was not found to be of high utility, for some purpose or other, in the economy of a numerous community.

In 1834, York embraced, in round numbers, a population of nearly 10,000 souls. All the usual trades, occupations and professions called into being by the necessities and caprices of men had developed themselves there.

Among the industries of the place were, for example, the manufacture of paper, of which we have already once heard, by Messrs. Eastwood & Skinner ; iron foundries and steam-engine manufactories, by Messrs. Sheldden & Dutcher and C. Perry ; the manufacture of blue and Poland starch, by Benjamin Knott ; of candles and soap, by Charles Stotesbury and Peter Freeland ; steam saw-mills for the manufacture of lumber, by Dr. Robinson, and a wind-mill, built of brick, for the manufacture of flour, by Messrs. Worts & Gooderham, "east of the town, on the Bay-shore." For the promotion of literature and science, there were the Literary and Philosophical Society, formed by Drs. Dunlop and Rees, and Mr. Fothergill ; the

Mechanics' Institute, with a small library, and a scheme for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge, by means of lectures and experiments, promoted by Mr. Dunn, Dr. Baldwin, Dr. Ralph, Dr. Dunlop, Mr. Brent, Mr. Jarvis, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Worts, Mr. Musson, and others; the library kept at Mr. Timothy Parson's, 215 King Street; a Commercial Reading-Room formed by the exertions of Mr. Monro, Mr. Brent, Mr. Newbigging, Mr. Carfrae and others; branches of the Religious Tract and Book Society, supported by Mr. Ketchum, Mr. Small, Mr. John Gamble, Edward Goldsmith, Walter Rose, and others—the depot of books being kept at Mr. Robert Cathcart's general dry goods store, 147 King street. There were also efficient schools, independent of those supported by Government funds; as Mr. Caldicott's, Mr. Stewart's, and Mr. Boyd's; and Miss Bliss's York Infant School. In regard to art, Messrs. Daly and Howard had aimed to cultivate the public taste by instituting loan exhibitions, and Mr. Tazewell had begun to work in lithography, and to produce a number of Canadian views. As to music and the drama, both had received attention in private houses at York (traditions exist of private theatricals in good style at Spadina house and the Garrison); but in public they were constrained to put up with very humble quarters in Franks' ball-room, to which a rather steep and not very steady staircase was made to lead on the outside (not far from the market place), until, in about 1832, a Theatre Royal, on the principal street, a few yards west of the modern Jordan Street, was established, under the very respectable management of Mr. J. E. T. C. Vaughan, "formerly of Drury Lane Theatre, London." Literary periodicals had been again and again started, though destined, as is usual with such enterprises for a while in young countries, to be short-lived; as the "Roseharp," edited by Mr. Cawdell; the "Canadian Magazine," edited by Captain Sibbald, and the "Canadian Literary Magazine," edited by Mr. Kent. Many weekly or bi-weekly newspapers were published, as Mr. Gurnett's *Courier*, Mr. Dalton's *Patriot*, Mr. Collins's *Canadian Freeman*, of which the reader has heard, Mr. King's *Canadian Correspondent*, the *Christian Guardian*, the *Colonial Advocate*. There was also established a Typographical Society, Joseph H. Lawrence, President, and likewise a Masonic Institution, with a hall on Market Lane, where meetings took place "on every Thursday previous to the full moon." Several almanacs, as Fothergill's *Canadian Farmers' Almanac and General Memorandum Book*, Chewett's *Upper Canada Almanac and Astronomical Calendar*, *The Tract Society's Upper Canada Christian Almanac*; and McKenzie's *Patrick Swift's New Almanac for the Canadian True Blues*, with which was incorporated *The Constitutional Re-*

former's Text Book. Books in general literature were supplied by Messrs. Lesslie & Sons, "York, Kingston and Dundas;" also by Mr. Henry Rowsell, in the last year of the fourth decade. Fire departments were also organized; a fire-engine company, fifty strong, with two fire-engines and seven hundred and fifty feet of hose. "Engine-house or fire-men's hall in Church Street;" and a Hook and Ladder Company for the extinction of fires, in 1834, sixty strong; captain, Robert Emery; first lieutenant, Michael P. Emery; second lieutenant, Archibald McLellan; treasurer, William Ketchum; secretary, Charles Hunt. A horse-boat to the Island, propelled by four horses, and named the *Sir John of the Peninsula*, was put in operation, and ran about once every day, the fare over and back being one shilling and threepence. There was a Volunteer Artillery Company (for salutes and so on), fifty strong; with fifty Stand of Arms and two Field pieces—Thomas Carfrae, jr., captain; Silas Burnham, first lieutenant; James Leckie, lieutenant and adjutant.

A Directory had been compiled, George Walton's "York Commercial Directory, Street Guide and Register," a duodecimo of 105 pages, in which it was shewn that the population of York, in 1833, taken broadly, was eight thousand seven hundred and thirty-one. The figures were made up thus: of the town proper, 7,473; of Macaulay Town (a kind of unannexed Yorkville of the time, included in the parallelogram bounded by the modern Queen, Yonge, Edward, and Chestnut Streets), 558; of the region from Osgoode Hall, where Macaulay Town ends, to Farr's Brewery, Lot Street, about 400; of the region from the east end of King Street to the Don Bridge, taking in all about the Windmill, about 300; grand total, 8,731.

Hitherto the individuals constituting the community of York were all acting in an isolated way. Little was as yet done for the general health, the general comfort, the general convenience and adornment of the place. The regulation of such matters for York was in the hands of the magistrates of the District at Quarter Sessions. It became, however, every day more manifest that great advantages would accrue to the town from a magistracy of its own, and a judicious combination of interests among the inhabitants. The selfishness which always fights against a tax which is going to be applied to a public purpose only, for a time stood in the way. But at length, the bulk of the community, however reluctant at first, became of one mind on these subjects, and agreed to ask Parliament for a charter of incorporation. The proposition was readily entertained; and in February, 1834, a Bill was introduced by Mr. Jarvis, the member for the town, and carried successfully

through the House. On Thursday, the 6th of March, 1834, it received the royal assent and became law. It was an elaborate Act, containing ninety-seven clauses. The preamble set forth that from the rapid increase of the population, commerce and wealth of the town of York, a more efficient system of police and municipal government than that now established had become obviously necessary; therefore it was enacted that the place should be constituted a city, and divided into wards, with two aldermen and two common council-men for each ward, to be elected by the inhabitants, and a mayor, who should be elected by the aldermen and council-men from among themselves; and these were to undertake the management of the affairs of the said city, and the levying of such moderate taxes as should be found necessary for improvements and other public purposes. And, because the name of York was common to so many towns and places, it was desirable to designate the capital of the Province by a name which would better distinguish it, and none appearing more eligible than that by which the site of the existing town was known before the name of York was assigned to it; therefore it was furthermore enacted that all the inhabitants of the said city and the liberties thereof, should from time to time, and at all times thereafter, continue to be one Body Corporate and Politic, in fact and in name, by the name of the City of Toronto. Power was at the same time given to the Lieutenant-Governor to change at his pleasure the title of any other place already having the name of Toronto to "something else." The neighbouring township of Toronto was probably alluded to, which was sometimes spoken of simply as Toronto. But no use was made of the permission thus given.

Nine days after the passing of the Act (March 15th), a proclamation from the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne, appeared in the *Gazette*, appointing Thursday, the 27th of the same month, for the first election of aldermen and common council-men for the several wards. The proclamation was countersigned "Robert S. Jameson, Attorney-General." By the third day of the following April the elections had taken place; and the man chosen from among themselves, by the elected aldermen and common council-men, to be the first mayor of the city, was Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie.

Having thus, so far as lay in my power, adduced memoirs of the Upper Canadian York, from the time of its inception in 1793-4 to the day of its passing out of view, lost like the morning star in the splendour of a rising sun, I feel that my task is ended. The irony of events was curious, in that the man who had undergone so much tribulation, and suffered so

much ignominy at York, should finally have become its first chief magistrate, when incorporated as a city : nay more, that he should have shewn himself, in that position—whatever may have been his imprudences in a subsequent stage of his career—an able, vigorous and sensible organizer, who, with a spice of Oliver Cromwell in his composition, and much of the insight of an Adam Smith into the *arcana* of social science in his understanding, grappled boldly, and, as will be allowed on all hands, successfully, with the great difficulties of the situation.

I am aware that the Upper Canadian York which I have sought to save from oblivion was a town which, throughout the whole of the four decades of its existence, met with scant favour in many quarters.

Visitors of a day, from M. de Petit-Thouars to Lieutenant Coke, passed their trivial judgments upon it from their momentary survey. Travellers making the grand tour of the United States and Canada, and purposing, possibly, the publication, on their return home, of a volume or two of "Travels," would seize the occasion to make shrewd comparisons between York and certain United States towns, such as Buffalo or Rochester—each of later origin than York—to the general disadvantage of the Upper Canadian capital, putting wholly out of view the vast difference in the circumstances and geographical position of the contrasted places. York lay wholly out of the line of the traffic and trade developing so actively in the Great West, and backed at the time to the north, and for that matter to the west and east likewise, by interminable tracts of unbroken forest ; so that it was utterly unlikely—nay, wholly impossible—that there should be about York, at the periods referred to, the movement, and life, and growth which, as a matter of necessity, were conspicuous about places situated and circumstanced as Buffalo, Rochester and other places along the southern sides of Lakes Ontario and Erie were.

And again, among many classes of Upper Canadians themselves, York was unmercifully flouted: for example, among those who, in the general advance of the country, had become identified with other thriving centres of business and life in the Province of Upper Canada, and were piqued at having to repair, for the settlement of every matter of great pith and moment to a town so little advanced in point of civilization beyond their own flourishing homes—a town, nevertheless, which affected a certain conventional superiority, by virtue of its character as the seat of Government.

And again: others, like Robert Gourlay, associating the place with abuses which they believed were rampant in it, heaped curses upon it loud as well as deep. It was where, as they believed, they themselves

had personally experienced the insolence of office and the law's delay, and no good thing could come out of it.

By means and through causes such as these, there was set up a kind of odium, potent and latent, in respect of the Upper Canadian York, which became, in numerous families and neighbourhoods, traditional, from decade to decade, throughout the period of its existenee.

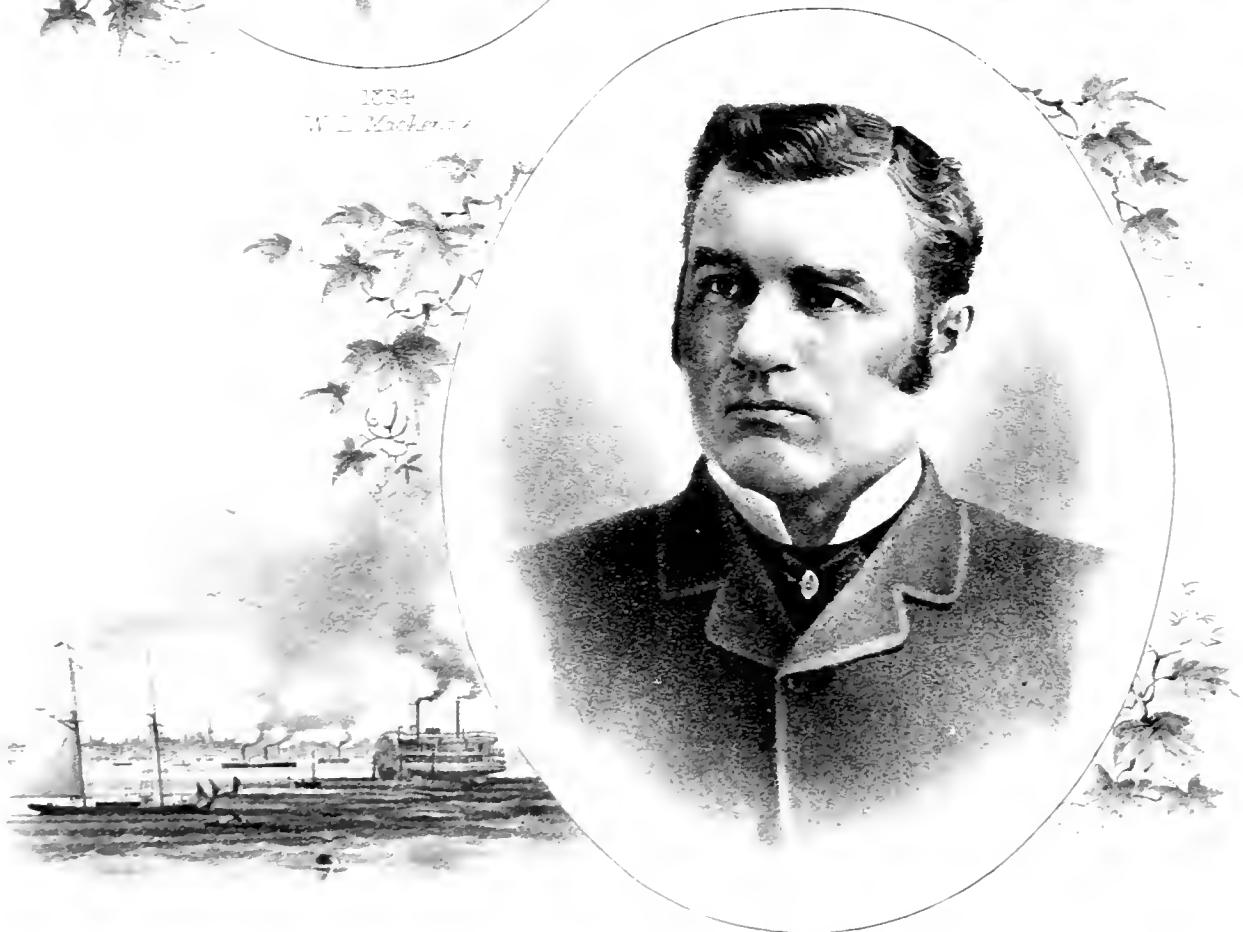
Nevertheless, prejudices and prepossessions to the contrary notwithstanding, the Upper Canadian York, to those whose lot was east there, was a town pleasant enough to live in—pleasant enough to pass the days of childhood and youth, of manhood and old age in—a place as plentifullly supplied as any other with good fathers, good mothers, and seemly households; with men and women of sterling type, upright, straightforward, and full of “the milk of human kindness.”

The real significance of the Upper Canadian York as a landmark of aggressive advance on the part of English civilization in 1793-4, and the sagacity of its first projector and founder as to its adaptability to become in a far future a great emporium of agriculture, merchandise, manufactures and learning, and the capital city of a Province tantamount to a State, may now be justly estimated, not through the off-hand report of a tourist or visitor of an hour, nor from the well-intentioned but crude conclusions of over-hasty doctrinaires of fifty years ago, but from what it has already become, and what it bids fair further to become, hereafter, under its re-assumed, beautiful, and expressive name, TORONTO.

MAYORS OF THE CITY OF TORONTO.



1834
W. L. Mackenzie



1834
A. P. Bemill

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
THE CITY OF TORONTO,

FROM ITS INCORPORATION IN MARCH, 1834, TO THE PRESENT TIME.
PRECEDED BY AN INTRODUCTION CONTAINING

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF YORK.

BY
JOHN CHARLES DENT,
Author of "The Last Forty Years," etc.



PREFACE.



The narrative of my collaborateur, Dr. Scadding, ends with the coming into existence of the City of Toronto, and the election of William Lyon Mackenzie as its Chief Magistrate. It falls to my share to take up the account where he left it, and to continue the history of the city from the date of its incorporation down to the present time. By way of introduction, I present a brief compend, covering the period already treated by Dr. Scadding, but of course not entering into any such amplitude of detail. The first chapter of this introductory portion was written by me several years ago for the columns of a Toronto newspaper, and is the result of independent reading and investigation. It will nevertheless be seen that the philological and other conclusions generally arrived at are identical with those adopted by the learned and painstaking historian of "The Four Decades." The value of Dr. Scadding's investigations is beyond all question, and no one will appreciate them so highly as will those authors and archaeologists who may in future times be compelled to travel over the same ground, and to dig in the same mine. It is, however, believed that the concise account embodied in the second chapter of the following introduction will be acceptable to many persons who are compelled to read hurriedly or not at all, and who have not sufficient leisure to follow the more extended and elaborate history which forms the first part of the present volume.

TORONTO, 20th March, 1884.

JOHN CHARLES DENT.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FOUNDING OF THE TOWN OF YORK.

N the works of several enterprising pioneers who explored the wilds of New France during the seventeenth century, and in the wondrous narratives of some of those Jesuit Fathers whose *Relations* form so valuable an aid to the proper understanding of our early history, we occasionally meet with a word which was then a novelty in literature, but which has since become a familiar one in the eyes and ears of the inhabitants of all civilized countries. We find it spelled in a great variety of ways by different writers, and the significations assigned to it are as various as the forms of the word itself. It is most frequently met with in its present form—Toronto; but we sometimes find it spelled Toronton, Taranton, Tarento, Torontog; and, more rarely, in the less recognisable shape of Atouronton, Otoronto, or Taronthé. The word is presumably of Huron origin, and the varieties in its form are doubtless attributable to the attempts of different chroniclers to reduce the native Indian pronunciation to European orthography. Of the numerous interpretations assigned to the word, the only two which have met with much acceptance are “trees rising from the water,” and “the place of meeting.” Well-attested facts seem to establish the latter as the true signification. When the expression first became known to Europeans, it was applied, not to the site of the present capital of Ontario, but to a more northerly region lying between the western shore of what is now Lake Simcoe and the southern shore of the inlet of Lake Huron now known as the Georgian Bay. In some old maps we find Lake Simcoe itself marked “Lac de Toronto,” and in others, the Georgian Bay set down as “Baie de Toronto.” Several rivers and smaller lakes in the neighbourhood are also set down under the general name of “Toronto.” The fact is, that the whole country thereabouts was the ancient headquarters of the Huron Nation, and that several spots on the shores of the lakes were common points of assembling for the various native

tribes. The word used by the Indians to designate their place of meeting was taken by the early explorers for a proper name, and as such was applied generally to the region so characterized, as well as to certain component parts of it. This is the most reasonable explanation which can now be given of the origin of the familiar word "Toronto." In much more recent times, the word was for several years applied to the settlement at what is now called Port Hope.

But how did the name "Toronto" come to be applied, nearly two hundred years ago, to a point on or near the site of the city which now bears that name—a site considerably removed from the ancient "place of meeting"?

In order to give a satisfactory reply to this question, it will be necessary to enter into certain rather minute details; and with a view to avoiding confusion it will be desirable to refer to some of the geographical features of the country by their modern names.

The Hurons, when travelling from their settlements to Lake Ontario, employed two different routes. One of these was by way of the River Severn, Lake Couchiching, and the north-eastern shore of Lake Simcoe, to the mouth of the Talbot River. They proceeded up the last-named stream as far as canoe navigation was practicable, and then crossed over by a portage to Lake Balsam. From here the route was by the chain of small lakes to the river Trent, by which they reached the Bay of Quinté, and ultimately Lake Ontario. This route was much used by the Hurons, not only in their ordinary excursions to Lake Ontario and back, but whenever they ventured into the territory of their hereditary foes, the Iroquois, in the Province of New York. It was over this toilsome route that Champlain was conducted to the camp of the Senecas, near Lake Canandaigua, on the occasion of his famous expedition in 1615.

The other route to Lake Ontario was much less in request than the one above indicated. It lay by various well-known paths through the interminable forest, to a point near the source of the stream now known as the River Humber. Here a small fleet of canoes was generally kept concealed among the dense vegetation of the swamps, and the remainder of the journey was made by water to the river's mouth. Thence the journey was sometimes continued across the lake to the mouth of the Niagara. Although this route was not a constant thoroughfare, like that by way of the Bay of Quinté, it was by no means permitted to fall into disuse, and a well-marked trail extended all the way from the place of embarkation at the source of the Humber to a point on the Georgian Bay, near the present site of Penetanguishene.

When the agents of the French Fur Companies began to settle upon the banks of the Lower St. Lawrence, and to send their *courreurs des bois* hither and thither through the far western wilderness in search of furs, many of the latter used to avail themselves of these routes through the country of the Hurons in order to reach Michilimackinac, where Indians, laden with peltries, were wont to assemble in great numbers from the Lake Superior region. The most common route from the Lower St. Lawrence to Michilimackinac was by the Ottawa River and the country of the Nipissings, and down the French River to the Georgian Bay, whence the rest of the journey was literally "plain sailing." But valuable furs were also to be had on the upper reaches of the St. Lawrence, and along the northern shore of Lake Ontario. Owing to this fact, not a few of the adventurers, instead of ascending the Ottawa, proceeded up the St. Lawrence, and by means of repeated portages made their way to the upper lakes, establishing trading relations with the Indians here and there. Some of them, having reached Lake Ontario, and having made what purchases they could along the route thus far, struck into the westward trail by way of the River Trent, and thence made their way to Michilimackinac. Others passed along the entire northern shore of the lake in batteaux, landing and trafficking wherever the smoke, curling skyward, indicated the presence of Indian wigwams. Having made what bargains they could all along the route as far as the head of the lake, some of these intrepid voyageurs, sending back their batteaux laden with peltries, proceeded up the Niagara to above the mighty cataract, and there provided themselves with other boats, in which they passed by way of Lake Erie and Detroit to Michilimackinac. Others, again, having reached the head of Lake Ontario, chose to return as far as the mouth of the Humber, and to proceed thence to Michilimackinac through the Huron country.

It will thus be seen that, no matter what the route pursued, the common goal was the same. Michilimackinac was the great western centre of the fur trade. The profits realized from the traffic were immense, and in process of time began to attract the attention of the English colonists in the Province of New York. Some of these resolved to follow in the footsteps of the French traders, and to participate in the profitable negotiations at Michilimackinac. In carrying out this resolve they ran serious risks, not only from the western Indians, who were for the most part staunch allies of the French, but from the French traders themselves, by whom they were regarded as trespassers on the domain of the most Christian King. This did not deter them, however, and they on

two occasions came over in considerable numbers. They returned from both expeditions laden with valuable furs, and the profits furnished an ample recompense for the dangers which they had encountered. This interference with the rights claimed by the French monopolists threatened to become a serious blow to the prospects of the latter, and to render nugatory the exclusive privileges conferred by their charters. The incursions of the English must be stopped at any cost. There were three routes from New York to Michilimackinac, being precisely the three routes above indicated, by way of Detroit, the Humber, and the Trent. Either of the latter two routes was easily accessible, for the Hurons had meanwhile been dispersed, driven from their native country, and nearly annihilated, by the implacable Iroquois in 1649. Their erstwhile cultivated fields on the banks of the Wye, and elsewhere throughout their once flourishing district, had been abandoned, and were fast relapsing into a state of nature. The hand of the ruthless destroyers had fallen very heavily upon the doomed nation, and the lately populous region lying between Lake Simeoe and the Georgian Bay was once more an uninhabited wilderness. There was therefore nothing to apprehend from the Hurons by any one travelling through their ancient domain. The representatives of the French Fur Companies were not slow to understand this state of things, and to foresee that it would be taken advantage of by the English colonists. It was resolved to guard all three of the routes to the west by means of strong forts erected at the entrance to each. Before any active measures could be taken in that direction, however, it became apparent that they had to contend against a more formidable foe than a few colonial traders, and that their obstructive measures must be on a proportionably larger scale. The French, having at an early period allied themselves with the Hurons, and having frequently assisted that people in waging war against the Iroquois, came in for a full share of the latter's resentment, and the sachems of the terrible Five Nations were ready enough to listen to any scheme having for its object the annoyace and discomfiture of their white enemies. The colonists of New York were shrewd enough to turn this animosity to their own account. Bands of Iroquois were despatched to various parts of Canada to traffic with the native Indians for furs. They generally returned from these expeditions with a moderate supply of furs and a very liberal supply of scalps. With the Iroquois, indeed, legitimate operations in peltries were altogether a secondary consideration as compared with their scalping enterprises. In the latter branch of industry they displayed a charming impartiality, taking contributions from all

nationalities, except the British, with equal ardour. To such a length were these excesses carried, that it became necessary for the French to adopt very vigorous measures for their repression. A royal regiment was sent out from the West Indies, and two formidable expeditions, commanded by the Governor, De Coureelis, in person, penetrated into the Iroquois country, in the Province of New York. The savages manned themselves to repel the invader, and fought with their accustomed ferocity and valour; but they were no match for disciplined soldiers, and were compelled to sue for peace. A peace was concluded accordingly, but the Iroquois mood was variable, and there was no telling how long the compact would be kept. With a view to preventing future incursions, several forts were constructed by the French, as had previously been resolved upon. One of these was erected at Cataraqui—subsequently called Fort Frontenac, and now called Kingston—to guard the entrance to the western trail by way of the channel leading to the Bay of Quinté and the River Trent. Another was built at Niagara, and a small force was sent to Detroit to guard the passage to Lake Huron in that direction, but no fort was actually built there until the beginning of the next century. By these means the principal avenues to the interior were effectually guarded. That by way of the Humber was still left open, and was destined to remain so for many years. It was considered advisable to guard this northward pass, and repeated suggestions to that effect were forwarded to headquarters; but a good deal of money had been spent in the expeditions against the Iroquois, in constructing the forts at Cataraqui and Niagara, and in strengthening the fortifications at various points along the St. Lawrence. The exchequer was not in a state of repletion, and the necessity was not regarded as urgent. The route by the mouth of the Humber had never been used to any formidable extent, and it was even hoped that the necessity for constructing a fortress there might be avoided. This supineness was eventually taken advantage of, and in the course of another quarter of a century a good many private traders found their way to the north-west by the route which had thus been left open. The number of these traders continued to increase, and the agitation for a protecting fort was renewed again and again. From various causes, however, nothing was actually done towards guarding the mouth of the Humber until the middle of the eighteenth century. By this time the establishment of a French trading post there had become absolutely essential, in consequence of the rising importance of the post established by the English at Chouéguen—now called Oswego. The English paid liberal prices for

furs, and the commodities bartered to the Indians in exchange were of better quality than those supplied at the French posts. For these reasons many of the Indians of the region now known as the Ontario peninsula began to ignore Forts Frontenac and Niagara, and to resort to Chouéguen to dispose of their peltries. Their ordinary route from central and north-westerly districts to the English post was by way of the Humber to Lake Ontario, and thence across to the southern shore. To prevent this resort to a foreign market, the French determined to pursue a more liberal policy in their negotiations with the aborigines, and to establish a post at the long-neglected mouth of the Humber. The Indians would then have but a short distance to travel from any part of the peninsula to a French market, and if liberally treated they would have no reason for crossing the lake and resorting to Chouéguen.

Accordingly, in the year 1749, a trading post, fortified by a stockade, was built on the eastern side of the inlet now known as Humber Bay, a short distance from the river's mouth. Its official designation was Fort Rouillé, after a French colonial minister of that name, but this title seems to have been employed in official documents only. The dispersion of the Huron nation and the devastation of their territory had been complete, but one memento of them had still been preserved—the name of their "place of meeting." This was perpetuated in the name of the route which led to it from the south. The Humber itself, in maps of the period, is set down as "Toronto River." Even before the erection of the fort in 1749, the name "Toronto" had been conferred upon a small Mississaga settlement near the mouth of the stream. After the building of the fort, usage proved too much for official parlance, and the place was commonly known and spoken of as Fort Toronto.

Of history, previous to the erection of the French fort, the place cannot be said to have any beyond what has been outlined in the preceding paragraphs. True, we find in the writings of two or three early travellers through this region accounts of landings effected by them at a spot which was probably on or near the present site of Toronto; but beyond the dry chronicling of the mere circumstance of landing, they give us no information whatever. Hither, in all probability, came Father Hennepin, journeying in advance of La Salle, more than two hundred years ago. He set sail from Fort Frontenac in a little vessel of ten tons, with a crew of sixteen men, on the 18th of November, 1678. On the 26th of the month they reached what the Reverend Father calls "the Indian town of Taiaiagon." The lake, lashed by a furious north-easter, was very rough, and the crew ran their little craft into the mouth of a river for safety.

The ice closed in around, and kept them prisoners until the 5th of December, when they cut their way out through the ice with axes, and resumed their journey westward. It seems tolerably certain, from a sketch-map of this journey, that "the Indian town of Taiaagon" was the Mississaga village above referred to, and that the river into which the vessel ran for safety was the Humber. Taiaagon, however, was not, as Hennepin supposed, the name of the village, nor is it a proper name at all. It is a Mohawk word signifying "a landing-place," and the great lakes abounded with taiaagons.

Beyond such meagre details as these, there is absolutely nothing to tell about the region at the mouth of the Humber in those early times. After the erection of the fort, the materials for history become somewhat more abundant; but up to the date of the arrival of Governor Simcoe, everything worth telling at this distance of time may be comprised in few words.

Fort Toronto fulfilled, to some degree, the expectations which had led to its construction, and a good deal of traffic that would otherwise have found its way to English markets was arrested at the mouth of the Humber. The post seems to have been efficiently maintained, as we find the Abbé Picquet, who visited it within two or three years after it had been established, referring to it as furnishing good bread and wine, both of which were scarce commodities at the other posts along the lake. The Abbé, however, expresses an opinion that the maintenance of storehouses at Toronto is not a thing to be desired, as the traffic at the other French posts on Lake Ontario will thereby be diminished. In the month of August, 1756, the English fort at Chouéguen was taken and destroyed by the French under Montcalm. Its destruction temporarily drove a large trade to Toronto; but this state of things was not destined to be permanent. In September, 1759, French dominion in Canada practically came to an end, and almost immediately afterwards Fort Toronto ceased to be maintained as a trading post. It was demolished and deserted by its former occupants, who had no longer any business there. It had never been strongly fortified, so that its demolition was probably an easy matter.

In 1760, a British force under the command of Major Robert Rogers proceeded westward to take possession of Detroit. They called at the mouth of the Humber on the way, arriving there on the evening of the 30th of September, and remaining there over night. They found the fort, as it had been left, in ruins. Contiguous to the ruins was a tract of about 300 acres of cleared ground, which, like the fort itself, was de-

serted. Some Indians, who had been hunting in the immediate neighbourhood, fled at the approach of Major Rogers and his troops, but returned on the following morning, and expressed their joy at the success of the British arms at Quebec. The Major, in his published account of this expedition, speaks of Toronto as a most convenient place for a factory, and as a point from which it would be easy to settle the north shore of Lake Erie.

Under English rule there would seem to have been a temporary revival of trading operations at Toronto. Sir William Johnson, the friend and patron of Joseph Brant, in a letter written in 1767 to the Earl of Shelburne, informs his lordship that persons could be found willing to pay £1,000 a year for the exclusive privilege of carrying on trade there. It does not appear that any such privilege was ever granted, but private traders and trappers used to pay periodical visits to the place to buy furs from the Indians, at least as far down in the century as 1784. The enterprise would seem to have proved unremunerative, as it was not continued. In a MS. map of about the date 1793, the site of the old fort is marked by a group of Indian wigwams inscribed "Toronto, an Indian village now deserted."

As most local readers are aware, the harbour of Toronto was in those days completely land-locked, except on the western side. The "Island" was then no island at all, but part of a peninsula. The efficient protection thereby afforded to vessels entering the basin was one of the circumstances which subsequently induced Governor Simcoe to fix his capital here. This step on the part of the Governor is the next important fact in the history of Toronto.

In the year 1791, Mr. Pitt's Bill for the division of the Province of Quebec into the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada was passed, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Graves Simcoe was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province of Upper Canada. He crossed the Atlantic, and took up his quarters at Niagara, then called Newark, where he held his first Parliament in September, 1792. Various circumstances combined to render him dissatisfied with the position of Newark as the provincial capital. Its situation was not central, and it was within range of the guns of the American fort on the opposite bank of the river. He travelled over a great part of the country in search of a point where he could establish himself to his satisfaction. Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General, was desirous of seeing the capital established at Kingston, but the notion did not meet with Governor Simcoe's approval. After travelling westward as far as Detroit and back, without having come to

any fixed conclusion, he resolved to inspect the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and for that purpose set sail from Newark on Thursday, the 2nd of May, 1793. On the morning of Saturday, the 4th, he passed the mouth of the Humber, and entered the harbour of Toronto. A short distance from the entrance to the harbour were several wigwams, inhabited by Mississaga Indians. This was the "town" of Toronto. Unprepossessing as the scene may appear in the eye of those accustomed to think of it as the site of a populous city, it enjoyed advantages which commended it to the judgment of Governor Simeoe, who was not long in making up his mind that here should be the future capital of Upper Canada. It was easily accessible by water, both from east and west—an important consideration, when it is remembered that there was not a single well-construed road in the Province. The excellence of its harbour, and its comparative remoteness from the United States, were also in its favour. After a stay of several days he returned to Newark, leaving behind him Lieutenant-Colonel Bouchette, whom he instructed to make a thorough survey of the harbour of Toronto—a task which was acomplished in the course of the summer.

Governor Simeoe paid several visits to his new capital during the summer of 1793, and quartered a number of his soldiers there. These soldiers formed part of the "Queen's Rangers," a corps which had been recently raised in Upper Canada. They were named by the Governor himself, who thus revived the name of an old brigade formerly commanded by him, and which had been disbanded at the close of the Revolutionary War. The new Rangers were detailed upon the duty of making roads, under the direction of Mr. Augustus Jones, a deputy Provincial surveyor, subsequently well known in this part of the country. Early in August the Governor personally took up his abode here, bringing with him as a residence his famous canvas house, which has often been fully described. From this time until his departure for St. Domingo, in 1796, Governor Simeoe continued to reside here, except during the short sessions of the Legislature at Newark.

The name "Toronto," by which, as previously noted, the place had been known almost from time immemorial, was not musical in the ears of the Governor. He pronounced the sonorous old Indian word "outlandish," and would have nothing to say to it. He christened his capital by the name which it continued to bear for nearly forty-one years—YORK. This name was chosen in honour of the King's son, Frederick, Duke of York. The ceremony of christening was consummated at noon on the 27th of August, 1793, by the firing of a royal salute from the Governor's troops,

stationed on the shore of the bay. The salute was responded to by the shipping in the harbour; and from this time the change of name from Toronto to York may be said to have formally taken effect.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE TOWN OF YORK TO THE INCORPORATION OF THE CITY OF TORONTO.

OME time elapsed after the formal "inauguration" before the "town" of York can be said to have had any actual existence. The close of 1793 found the place without any buildings more pretentious than a few log cabins occupied by the "Rangers," who were employed in cutting out roads through the mazes of the forest, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Bouehette, Mr. Augustus Jones, and Governor Simeoe himself. The Governor's residence for some time after his arrival was the canvas house already referred to, which was moved from place to place, to suit the convenience of its owner. Among the roads surveyed and partly laid out during the year was one which ultimately extended from the shore of the harbour to Lake Simeoe. This, which was destined to become the great northern thoroughfare to and from the capital of Ontario, was laid out under the Governor's personal supervision, and was called "Yonge Street," after his friend Sir George Yonge, Secretary of War in the Imperial Cabinet. For some years after this time it did not extend farther southward than Lot (now called Queen) Street.

In the spring of 1794 building operations were commenced in good earnest. The rustic chateau called Castle Frank, a well-known spot in its day, was built by the Governor for an occasional residence, on the steep acclivity overlooking the valley of the Don, rather more than a mile from the river's mouth. A more important undertaking was at the same time begun, viz., the erection of buildings for the accommodation of the Provincial Legislature. The site selected by the Governor was close to the spot now occupied by the Old Gaol, near the corner of Berkeley and Front Streets. Their erection occupied nearly three years. They

were plain but commodious structures, consisting, in the words of a contemporary document, of "two elegant Halls, with convenient offices, for the accommodation of the Legislature and the Courts of Justice." In the immediate neighbourhood a few other insignificant buildings gradually arose, and formed the nucleus of the city which now boasts a population of more than 100,000. The progress of the settlement was slow. Notwithstanding the advantages of its excellent harbour and its position on the lake, it laboured under the drawback of being, at certain seasons of the year, little better than a morass. Ague and low fevers were rife, and medical practitioners were few. Despite these disadvantages, however, York attracted a few settlers, and in 1795, when the French Royalist Duke de Liancourt visited the country, the capital contained twelve houses, in addition to the barracks where the regiment was quartered. The Duke did not personally visit the capital, but was a guest of Governor Simcoe, at Navy Hall, Niagara. Two of his travelling companions crossed the lake to York, and it was upon their report of the place that the Duke's well-known account was founded.

Governor Simcoe did not remain in the country long enough to open the first Parliament held at York. The Parliament Buildings were not completed until the spring of 1797, and the Governor had left the Province in the preceding year for St. Domingo. Various reasons have been assigned for his removal. It has been said that his dislike for republican institutions caused him to carry on his administration in such a manner as to render him distasteful to the authorities at Washington; and it has even been said that his language and conduct had caused an expression of complaint to be made against him from that quarter to the Home Government. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, if any such complaint were really made, the Home Ministry may have deemed it politic to place him in a sphere where he would not be brought into conflict with the United States authorities. It is certain, however, that no very friendly feeling subsisted between Governor Simcoe and Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General, and it is very probable that this may have had more to do with the former's removal from Upper Canada than any complaint on the part of the United States authorities. Whatever the reason may have been, he was removed, and during the following three years the government of the Province was carried on by the Honourable Peter Russell, upon whom, as senior member of the Executive Council, the administration officially devolved after Governor Simcoe's departure. Mr. Russell continued to direct the administration until the arrival of Lieutenant-General Peter Hunter in 1799. So far as concerns Toronto, the most noteworthy events

of the latter's term of office were the establishment of a weekly market in 1803, and the building of the first St. James's church, begun in 1803 and completed in the following year. Mr. Hunter continued to administer the Government of Upper Canada until 1805, in which year he died at Quebec, while engaged on a tour of military inspection. After an interregnum of nearly a year, during which the Honourable Alexander Grant officiated as President, the Honourable Francis Gore arrived from England in the capacity of Lieutenant-Governor. There was at this time no regular postal communication between York and the rest of the world. All correspondence and newspapers, as a rule, had to be despatched and received by private and irresponsible hands. The first regular mail from the Lower Province for York arrived at its destination on the 12th of January, 1808.

At the time of Governor Gore's arrival in Upper Canada as Governor Hunter's successor, life in the little capital must have been rather a humdrum affair. The town could not be said to extend further west than Church Street, and nearly all the houses were contiguous to the shore of the harbour. Still, the place already showed a disposition to extend westward and northward, and pioneers who had come in with Governor Simcoe regarded its progress in population and wealth as little less than miraculous. The census taken during the year 1806 showed a population of 592. Small as these figures appear, they display a steady, if slow, advance upon previous enumerations. Seven years before, in 1799, the entire population of the Home District was only 224.

The situation of the town in 1806 may be best conceived by a brief reference to its surroundings at the different points of the compass. To the south was the harbour, with the long, irregular peninsula in its rear. To the east was the River Don, with only two buildings on its eastern side, one of which was a blockhouse; and beyond this, all the way to Port Hope—then called Smith's Creek—the settlers' houses might probably have been counted on the tips of the fingers. To the north, it is safe to say that no civilized beings resided much more than half a mile from the water's edge. Castle Frank, which had been used as a summer house by Governor Simcoe, had been unoccupied ever since his time, and had fallen into decay. To the west, as we have seen, the town did not extend beyond Church Street. The garrison was a mile away, the intervening space being occupied by the primeval forest. Between the garrison and the head of Burlington Bay—a distance of forty miles—the houses were few, and, with a single exception, of the humblest description. This exception was Brant House, the residence of the cele-

bated Mohawk Chief, Captain Joseph Brant. The grim old warrior was already beginning to feel the approaches of age, and he breathed his last in November of the following year. His house—a comfortable, roomy mansion—was situated on the beach, near what was subsequently known as Wellington Square, and is now called Burlington. Hamilton itself was the merest fragment of a village, upon which no name had as yet been bestowed.

Such was the country about York in the year 1806.

North and west of the garrison, in the middle of the woods, were three primitive-looking dwellings, situated far apart, and occupied respectively by Colonel Shank, the Honourable Aeneas Shaw, and Colonel Givins. Beyond these suburbs, as they may be called, the adjacent country in every direction was still in a state of nature, and was literally a howling wilderness, for wolves and bears abounded throughout the district. Deer sported hither and thither through the mazes of the forest, and the crack of the huntsman's rifle might be heard by the inhabitants of York almost any day in the week. At a much later epoch than that of which we are speaking, Captain Battersby, an English officer stationed at York, is reported to have shot a fine buck on or near the site now occupied by St. Michael's Cathedral. The path leading westward from Church Street led through the thick forest all the way to the garrison, and in 1807 the wife of one of the Queen's Rangers, walking along this path, was chased by an enormous bear to within a hundred yards of Garrison Creek, where the brute was shot by one of the soldiers.

On the east side of Garrison Creek, near its mouth, stood a little block-house, overlooking the harbour, and designed as a guard to the entrance. It was destroyed during the American invasion in 1813. Hereabout, also, near the water's edge, stood "Lambeth Palace," as it was whimsically called—the first house built at York. It was merely a small log hut, which was constructed for and used as the Commandant's quarters. It was built in the summer of 1793, immediately after Governor Simcoe's selection of Toronto as the site of his future capital. Its first occupant was Captain Aeneas Shaw, a U. E. Loyalist, who did good service on our side during the Revolutionary War, and who subsequently took up his quarters in Upper Canada at the time of Governor Simcoe's arrival in 1792. Captain Shaw was subsequently appointed a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils in Upper Canada, and was thereafter known as the Honourable Aeneas Shaw. He also rose to the rank of a Major-General, and was one of the most prominent citizens of York in those days. As some recompense for his efficient military

services, he received a free grant of large tracts of land in various parts of the Province, including a block of five hundred acres north of the Garrison, at York. Upon the lot so granted he built a log house, some time during the year 1795, and immediately upon its completion he took up his abode there with his family. The situation of the house was remote from civilization at that time, being nearly half a mile north of what is now Queen Street, and several hundred yards northwest of the present Trinity College. Its owner named the place "Oakhill," after his ancestral seat in Scotland, and had a road slashed out from his front door to his former quarters at Lambeth Palace. In this little cabin its owner soon afterwards had the honour of entertaining the Duke of Kent, during one of that nobleman's visits to Upper Canada. As the little family at Oakhill increased in number, the accommodation afforded by this primitive domicile became insufficient for them, and a larger one was built a few feet farther eastward. This latter was of frame, and was the first private house of that material built at or near York. The date of its erection was 1797 or 1798. It remained standing and in repair down to a very short time ago, but the hand of the spoiler was ruthlessly laid upon the smaller and earlier erection about eight years since, when the tenant in occupation of the adjoining building sacrilegiously tore it down and used it for firewood. It may not be uninteresting to chronicle the fact that Miss Sophia Shaw, a daughter of the founder of Oakhill, was the intended bride of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, and that their marriage was only prevented by that officer's glorious but untimely death at Queenston Heights. Miss Sophia was faithful to the General's memory, and remained single for his sake until her death, which took place at Toronto within the last few years.

Colonel Shank's house, above referred to, has long ceased to exist. Colonel Givins's lot, purchased by him from Colonel Bouchette, adjoined the Oakhill property to the west. The family abode, which was built about the same time as Captain Shaw's, still stands intact, and is described as "wearing at this day a look of peculiar calm and tranquillity, screened from the outer world by a dark grove of second-growth pine, and overshadowed by a number of acacias of unusual height and girth."

From an old MS. plan of York, drawn in 1807, it appears that there was at that period a block-house on the summit of the little acclivity at the intersection of Garrison Creek with what is now Queen Street. Its situation was immediately north of the last-named thoroughfare, and on the east side of the stream. It had doubtless been built for the

purpose of guarding the approach to the town from the west. At a somewhat later date, the valley adjoining the creek was called Gore Vale, in honour of the Governor.

In 1807 an Act was passed to establish public schools in every district of the Province, and this year witnessed an important event in the history of York—the establishment of the first public school. It was called the Home District School, and was opened on the 1st of June by Dr. George O'Kill Stuart, in his own house, which was situated on the south-east corner of George and King Streets. The school was well attended, and the good effect of its establishment soon began to be apparent. The roll of scholars who received their earliest education at this school includes many names which afterwards became well known in Upper Canada, in the halls of the Legislature and in the various learned professions. Dr. Stuart, its founder, was a clergyman of the Church of England, and was subsequently Archdeacon of Kingston. He was the first incumbent of St. James's Church, at York, which remained unenclosed until the year 1810, when a portion of it was partly enclosed by a snake fence, in the construction of which five hundred rails were employed. The cost of the rails was £1 5s. At the same time the western front was cleared of stumps at a cost of £3 15s.

Another old structure, the building of which was commenced during this era, was the lighthouse. The *Upper Canada Gazette* of March 16th, 1808, contains the announcement that a lighthouse is about to be erected immediately at Gibraltar Point, at the entrance to the harbour. The construction was begun during that year, but the work went on slowly, and was not quite completed at the time of the American invasion in 1813. The present lighthouse is the identical structure, which, however, has since been greatly heightened and otherwise enlarged.

It is said that the erection of a lighthouse at this spot was begun before the advent of the present century, and that the stone for that purpose was transported thither from Queenston. If such were really the case, it is evident either that the lighthouse was never completed or that it was very insecurely built, for apparently there was no structure of the kind in existence at Gibraltar Point in 1808. The announcement in the *Gazette* plainly implies the necessity for such a building, and refers to the fact that the navigation of the lake will thus be rendered less hazardous—a reference which would not have been made if a lighthouse had already existed there.

The peninsula did not become an island until half a century subsequent to the period under consideration, at which time there was a road leading

round from the extreme east of the town to Gibraltar Point. This long, narrow strip of land was a frequent resort of the citizens of York, who repaired thither both in carriages and on foot. The air hereabouts was believed to possess a peculiar salubrity, and it is said that the native Indians themselves used to resort thither when in ill-health. Several years before, during the *regime* of Governor Hunter, a colony of goats had been settled on the peninsula by his instructions, and they continued to roam at will over it until the American invasion of 1813, when they were dispersed.

Governor Gore's rule in Upper Canada cannot be pronounced an unmixed success. He was a Tory of the most unbending type, who had little of the statesman in his composition, and who had lived through the stormy period of the French Revolution without learning any practical lessons therefrom. His political predilections were manifested throughout the whole period of his administration, and not unfrequently to the injury of the best interests of the colony. The Family Compact may be said to have been already in existence, and the Governor, as was to be expected, allied himself with the oligarchy immediately on his arrival at the seat of Government. During the summer of 1811 he obtained leave of absence, and went home to England on private affairs of his own, leaving the Government in the hands of Sir Isaac Brock as President and Administrator. He did not return to this country until the close of 1815, and was consequently not here during the American invasion.

Into the various causes which led to the American invasion of Canada in 1812-'13 it is unnecessary to enter in these pages. A very few words will suffice to explain the situation of affairs at the time when the foot of the invader for the first, and—let us hope—for the last time trod the streets of our capital.

On the 18th of June, 1812, war was declared by the United States against Great Britain, and General Brock at once made ready to defend his trust. He had convened Parliament at York in the preceding month of February, and in his opening address had referred to possible difficulties with the United States. He had, indeed, looked upon the war as probable for several years previously, and had to some degree been making ready for it, but to place the Province in an efficient state of defence with the limited means at his disposal was simply impossible. The colony was young and poor, its extent large, and its population small. The first complete official census of Upper Canada had been taken during the preceding year—1811—and showed the entire population of the Province at the time to be only 77,000. Brock's force of regulars did not exceed 1,500 men, and the frontier to be defended—exclusive of Lower Canada—was about 1,300 miles in length.

Grave doubts were entertained, too, as to the loyalty of a considerable part of the population, many of whom were emigrants from the United States. General Brock was at York when he received intelligence of the declaration of war. The militia of the Province were at once called out to be despatched to the frontiers. The summons was promptly responded to, and from one end of the country to the other a sentiment of patriotism was evoked which conclusively proved that the bulk of the inhabitants were loyal to British connection. Then ensued the campaigns of 1812, beginning with Hull's western invasion and repulse at Detroit in the month of July. This was followed, on the 13th of October, by the battle of Queenston Heights and the death of General Brock. Every one knows the result of the battle. Upon the whole, the Republic had little reason to congratulate itself upon the success of its arms during the first few months of the war.

In these events York was interested only in common with the rest of the Province, but a time was not far distant when the little capital itself was to become the scene of hostile operations. After the death of General Brock, the chief command of the troops and the administration of public affairs devolved upon Major-General Roger H. Sheaffe. This gentleman was an American by birth, but was British in his proclivities, and had fought on the British side in Holland and elsewhere in the Old World, as well as at Queenston Heights. In acknowledgment of his services on the last-named field, he was created a baronet early in 1813. There is no ground for impugning his loyalty or courage, but his subsequent military career in Upper Canada was not a success. He continued to retain the command during part of the campaign of 1813. On the 25th of February he convened Parliament at York, and several important measures were passed during the session. The Americans, meanwhile, smarting from the ignominious defeats of the previous year, were making great preparations for the ensuing campaign, and expected that Canada would fall an easy prey. They amassed large armies on the frontier, one of which was to make a descent upon the town of York. Their plan of operations was matured by General Dearborn and Commodore Chauncey. It was settled that a joint land and naval expedition should attack and capture York, and then cross the lake and reduce Fort George. All arrangements having been made, General Dearborn embarked about seventeen hundred troops on board a fleet of fourteen vessels at Sackett's Harbour. On the 25th of April the expedition sailed for York, and on the morning of the 27th this formidable armament appeared before our capital.

General Dearborn himself being in indifferent health, he remained on board the *Madison*, the Commodore's flag-ship, and placed the landing forces under the command of Brigadier-General Pike. The troops landed between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. The landing was effected about two miles west of where the town then was, or about half a mile beyond the site of the old French fort. It was intended to land farther east; but a strong easterly wind drove the boats in which the troops were embarked towards the mouth of the Humber. The van of the invading forces was led by an American officer named Major Forsyth, who landed his men from two *bateaux* in spite of the determined resistance of Major Givins and a small force made up of about sixty Glengarry Fencibles and a few Indians, who had concealed themselves in the woods near the shore. The invaders were soon reinforced by the main body of the American troops under Pike. Major Givins was at the same time reinforced by two companies of the 8th or King's Regiment; also by a body of about 200 militia, and by fifty regulars of the Newfoundland Regiment. The latter reinforcements, however, only made the opposing army about 550 strong, whereas the Americans had landed nearly twice that number of men. Our little band was compelled to retreat eastward from one position to another along the lake shore, the Americans following with their artillery. Commodore Chauncey, meanwhile, had moved his fleet to near the entrance of the harbour, and kept up a galling fire of grape shot upon our retreating troops. The American troops had advanced eastward to within a hundred yards of the main battery, when the magazine blew up, whereby two of our men were killed. This explosion was the result of accident, the magazine, in the hurry of action, having been carelessly left open. Major-General Sheaffe, who had been intrenched here, at once retreated with his men to the Half-Moon Battery, a little farther to the east. The Americans followed up their advantage, and Sheaffe and his troops were compelled to retire to the garrison, whence a brisk fire was opened upon the advancing Americans. The latter reached a point about two hundred yards to the west of the garrison, where they came to a temporary halt. Just then a rumbling of the ground was felt, and in another second there was a tremendous explosion. For a moment the town and the waters of the lake seemed to heave to and fro as though impelled by a mighty earthquake. The secret of this commotion was that Sergeant Marshall, an English non-commissioned officer on duty at the magazine, had blown it up, to prevent the enemy from gaining possession of the large quantity of powder—no less than 500 barrels—which was stored there. The effect of the ignition of such a

quantity of gunpowder must have been terrible indeed. The air for several hundred yards round in every direction, for a single moment, seemed to be charged with fragments of timber and great boulders which had formed part of the walls of the magazine. When the black smoke cleared away it disclosed a sickening scene. More than 200 Americans lay strewn upon the plain, many of them mortally hurt, and fifty of them killed outright. Among those mortally wounded was the young Brigadier-General Pike himself, who was crushed by the shower of stones, and died within a few hours afterwards.

Major-General Sheaffe, all through this contest at York, seems to have lost his head. His preparations for the defence of the town had been altogether inadequate, and he did not even turn to the best account such insufficient means as he had at his command. He availed himself of the confusion following the explosion to beat a retreat. He placed himself at the head of as many of the regulars as he could get together, and after destroying the frames of two ships on the stocks and a magazine of stores in the harbour, made the best of his way across the Don, and retreated towards Kingston. When a few miles on the road thither, the retreating forces were met by the light infantry of the King's Regiment, on their way to Fort George. The latter, upon receiving Sheaffe's communications, wheeled about and retreated with him to Kingston. York was thus left without any other defence than was afforded by the militia, who were brave and loyal to the core, but who were too few in number to make any serious resistance to such a force as that of the Americans. To prolong the siege would have caused a great and useless effusion of blood. The town was accordingly surrendered, the conditions agreed upon being that the prisoners taken during the action should be paroled; that there should be no interference with private property; and that all public stores should be surrendered to the Americans.

The entire loss on our side during the siege was about 52 killed and 87 wounded. The American loss was considerably greater, owing to the mortality consequent upon the blowing up of the magazine. One noteworthy casualty of the siege was the destruction of our little Parliament Buildings. The American occupation at this time was only a matter of a few days. The invaders having achieved their object in capturing the stores, there was no good purpose to be served by holding the place any longer. The troops were accordingly re-embarked on the 1st of May, and made sail across the lake to Fort George, whither it is not necessary that we should follow them. Their treatment of the inhabitants of York dur-

ing their brief occupation of the place was upon the whole not more reprehensible than was to be expected.

Commodore Chauncey and his fleet paid another flying visit to York on the 31st of July following. The conduct of the invaders on this occasion was not such as to reflect credit upon those in charge of the expedition. They landed several boats full of troops at the site of the garrison, whence they proceeded eastward into the town, of which they took immediate possession. They opened the gaol and liberated the prisoners, some of whom were confined for felony. They entered private dwellings and mercantile establishments, seizing the contents, and in several instances grossly maltreating the owners. At midnight they returned aboard their fleet, but landed again next day and committed similar depredations. Three armed boats were sent up the Don as far as they could get for the shallowness of the water, in search of further plunder, but none was to be found there. The men then returned once more on board the fleet, set fire to the barracks, storhouse, and wood-yard on Gibraltar Point, and at daylight next morning once more set sail for Niagara.

Such is a brief epitome of the history of the two descents which have been made by a foreign invader upon the capital of Upper Canada.

Towards the close of the year Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond arrived at York and assumed the military command, as well as the civil control, Governor Gore being still absent in England. General Drnmmond convened Parliament in the following February. The Parliament Buildings having been destroyed, the session was held in the ballroom of Jordan's York Hotel, on King Street East—a well-known house of entertainment in its day, but which has long since disappeared. During this session several beneficial measures were passed, including one which authorized the appropriation of \$6,000 sterling for roads and bridges. On the 24th of December following, the Treaty of Ghent put an end to hostilities between Great Britain and the United States, and the inhabitants of York were not subjected to any further depredations on the part of republican invaders.

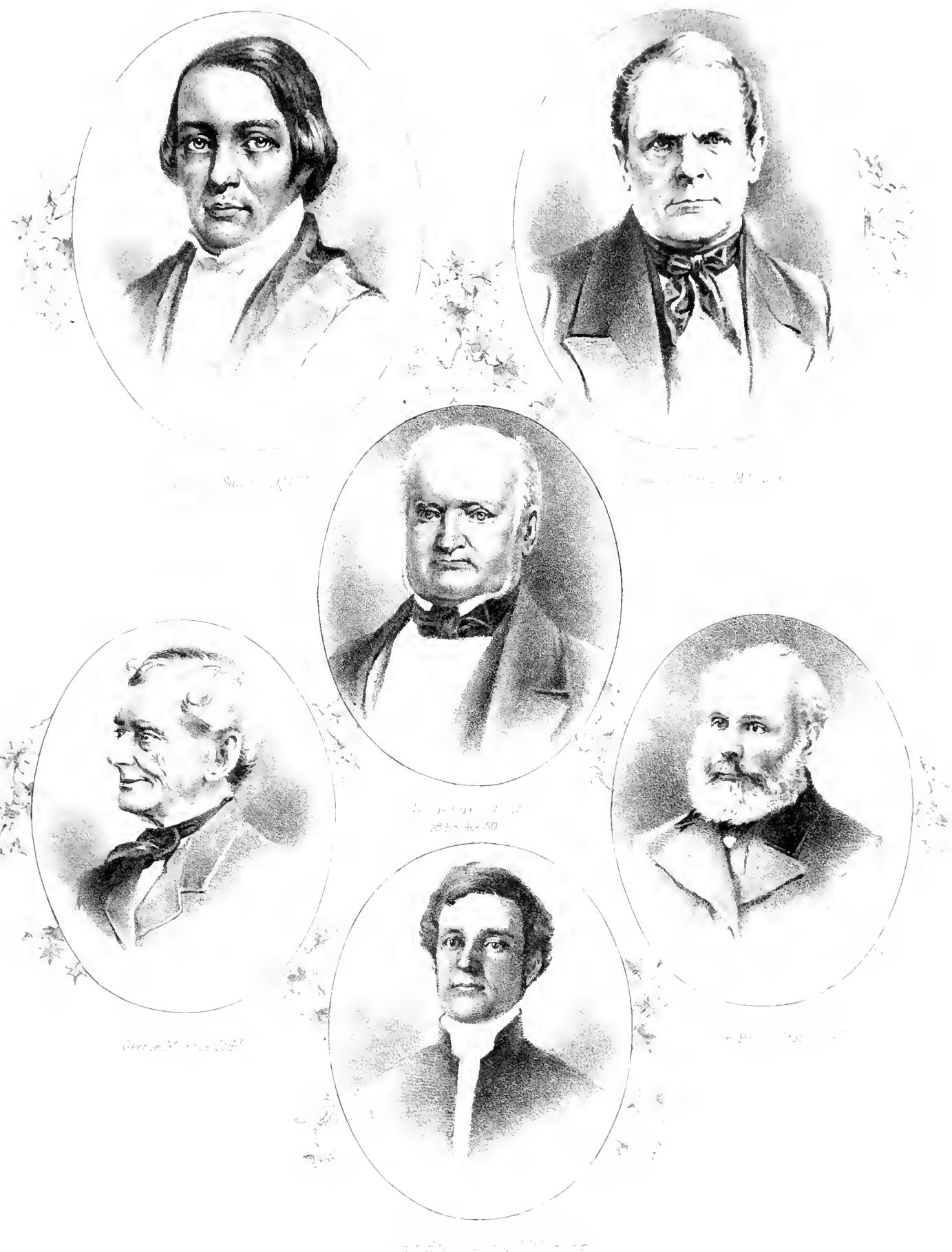
Governor Gore returned from England in the summer of 1815, and arrived at York on the 25th of September, after an absence from the Province of about four years. He had been fortunate enough to be out of the country during a very critical period in its history—a period during which its soil had been trodden by the foot of an invader, and the Halls of its Legislature had been burned to the ground. There was certainly no reason why the people of the Province should experience any great amount of exhilaration at seeing him once more at the head of affairs. He had

been "ever strong upon the stronger side," and had steadily set himself in opposition to the popular will. Between the ruling oligarchy and the Governor there seemed to be a distinct (if tacit) understanding that all places worth having were by the law of nature the inalienable birthright of the former. As matter of fact the Governor cared little for either the oligarchy or the common people, and was somewhat of a self-seeker. Two days after re-assuming the reins of Government he was presented with an adulatory address in which his return was alluded to as a "happy event," and in which it was predicted that York, under his auspicious administration, would forget her past disasters, and rise to a condition of great prosperity. During the following session of the Legislature the time-serving politicians of the day passed an Act appropriating the large sum of £3,000 sterling to enable the Governor to purchase a service of plate to be kept by him in perpetual remembrance of the people's gratitude. It is worthy of note that while £3,000 was appropriated for this purpose—an amount which, when we consider the comparative poverty of the country at that date, may truly be pronounced enormous—the sum of £800 was considered sufficient for the purchase of a Parliamentary Library, and was voted accordingly during the same session.

The Governor, upon his return to York in 1815, took up his quarters in the new Government House, on King street West. This building had formerly been the residence of Chief-Justice Elmsley, from whom it had been purchased by the Province for the abode of its future Governors. The purchase was made shortly after the close of the war with the United States, and was rendered necessary by the circumstance that the building previously used for that purpose had been destroyed by the explosion of the magazine. A few alterations sufficed to render the place fit for a governmental abode, and it continued to be used for that purpose until the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada ceased to exist. It was destroyed by fire about twenty-two years ago. The present residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario stands in the same grounds, and covers part of the same site.

The year 1816 is memorable as being the date of the first steam navigation on Lake Ontario, and although the enterprise did not originate at York, it was an event in the history of the little capital, inasmuch as it was the means of rendering the place more readily accessible by water. The first steam vessel that entered York harbour was the *Frontenac*, launched at Ernestown, on the Bay of Quinté, in the autumn of this year. She began her trips in the following spring, and ran between Kingston, York and Niagara. She was of 700 tons burthen, and her

MAYORS



first commander was Captain James McKenzie, a retired navy officer. She continued to run during the season of navigation for about ten years. Her trips were made with great regularity, and she proved a great convenience to the travelling public, more especially during the first years of her history, when the towns along the lake were by no means easily accessible by land. In 1816, although nearly a quarter of a century had elapsed since the first settlement of York by Governor Simcoe, it still took three or four days to reach Niagara by land from the seat of Government. A contemporary advertisement of this year announces that on the 20th of September a stage will commence running between York and Niagara. It is further announced that the stage will leave York every Monday, and arrive at Niagara on the following Thursday, starting back on the return trip from Queenston on Friday. The public are notified that all baggage will be at the owner's risk, and that the fare is to be paid in advance. The booking-office at York was situated in a coffin-shaped structure at the intersection of Front and Market Streets, which situation was then the commercial centre of the town.

Another vessel connected with the early history of the York marine was the fast-sailing packet, *Duke of Richmond*. The keel of this vessel was laid in the autumn of 1819, on the shore of the bay, at the foot of Princes Street. She was finished and launched early in June, 1820, and on the 20th of the same month she made her first trip across Lake Ontario to Niagara. She was constructed for the express purpose of carrying passengers from York to Niagara, and was the first vessel built in this port since the war. She kept her route for six years, until the steamboat *Canada* was placed on the lake. She was owned and commanded by Captain Edward Oates, father of the late Mr. R. H. Oates, a well-known resident of Toronto in his day.

The year 1818 is noteworthy in the annals of York as an era of extensive building operations. Numerous stores and private residences were erected during the year, several of which were of a much more pretentious style of architecture than those previously existing in the capital. Among the private dwellings dating from this time was that of Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Strachan, on the corner of Front and York Streets, being part of the same building which now occupies the site. Work was also begun upon the new Houses of Parliament, but was not completed until 1820. Among the other building operations of this year was the enlargement of St. James's Church. The little structure had become altogether insufficient for the accommodation of its already numerous congregation. Alterations had long been projected, and before the close of

the year they were carried out. The building was extended both on its northern and southern sides, and it was made to face the south, as at present. The original western door, facing Church Street, was still retained, but was used only as an entrance for the garrison troops, who sat on benches extending the entire length of the church. The principal entrance was made to front towards King Street. A small tower was built over this doorway, and a circular bell-turret placed inside. Surmounting the tower was a small tin-covered spire. The bell was too large for the building, and produced an unpleasant jar whenever it was rung. The church, as thus altered and enlarged, stood for twelve years. In the summer of the same year (1818), was also erected the first Methodist church at York. It stood a few feet back from what is now the corner of King and Jordan Streets, but at the time of its erection Jordan Street had no existence. This part of King Street was but sparsely settled, there being no house on the south side between the little chapel and the corner of Bay Street, where was the private residence of Mr. Jordan Post, whose Christian name is commemorated in the name of Jordan Street. Mr. Post was a well-known watchmaker of that day, whose shop was near the south-west corner of King and Yonge Streets. Between this shop and the new Methodist chapel the only building was Shepherd's blacksmith shop, which stood about half way between Yonge Street and the present site of Jordan Street. The chapel stood precisely on the present site of Hay's furniture establishment. Opposite was a solitary two-story house, where one of the numerous family of Smith carried on a bakery and confectionery. The end of this latter house abutted on the street. The chapel itself was a little commonplace-looking frame structure, originally only forty feet square, but almost immediately afterwards enlarged to sixty feet in length by forty feet broad. On its western side and at its rear was an orchard, extending southward to Wellington Street, beyond which trees and shrubs stretched down to the water's edge across the road leading to the garrison. The little chapel had a solitary double doorway opening towards King Street. Upon each side of the entrance was a window which, as compared with the size of the building itself, was of large dimensions. Three windows of similar dimensions lighted the interior from each side. The interior was fitted up with a high, square, box-like pulpit at the north end. Rude wooden benches were ranged along each side, leaving a narrow passage down the middle from the door to the pulpit. The entire cost of the building was about \$250, and it is said that the congregation were three years in raising the amount. This seems almost incredible to any one

contemplating the wealth of the Methodists of Toronto at the present day. Their magnificent temples of worship, from the Metropolitan Church downwards, furnish the best evidence of the progress made by that body since the early days when they erected their little Bethel on the corner of King and Jordan Streets. The latter continued in use by its congregation for fifteen years. It was subsequently—*mutatis mutandis*—converted into a theatre.

In the summer of 1818 Sir Peregrine Maitland arrived in Upper Canada as successor to Governor Gore. A somewhat romantic halo attaches to his name, owing to the circumstances attending his marriage to his second wife, Lady Sarah Lennox, a daughter of the Duke of Richmond. Sir Peregrine's suit to Lady Sarah was distasteful to her father, who refused to sanction it. The lady did a thing almost without precedent in modern times among people of her rank. She determined to defy her father, and, if necessary, to brave public opinion. She fled from her father's roof to her lover's lodgings. The Duke was thus compelled to put the best face he could on the matter, and to consent to a marriage. He was also compelled to provide for his son-in-law, which he did by procuring him the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. It was not even pretended that Sir Peregrine had any aptitude for so important a position; but the appointment was the only good thing vacant at the time, and was made accordingly. Sir Peregrine continued to fill the position for more than ten years, but he had no sympathy with the people over whom he was placed, nor did he ever become popular here. His wife, Lady Sarah, when she bade adieu to the country, left behind her certain traces of her residence in Canada. The three townships of Tay, Tiny and Flos, in the northern part of the County of Simcoe, were so named in commemoration of three of her lap-dogs.

The year 1820 witnessed the completion and opening of the new Parliament Buildings, on the site of those which had been burned by the Americans in 1813. They consisted of a long, plain looking brick range, built for use rather than for show, and having no architectural adornments of any kind. Here, in 1821, Parliament was convened. The appearance of York at this date is described by various travellers, none of whom seems to have been very favourably impressed thereby, though the march of improvement was steady, if slow. In 1824 some noteworthy additions were made to the public works of the town. Perhaps the most important of these consisted of the erection of a new Court House and Gaol, a few yards north of King Street, between Church Street and the present Toronto Street. The space intervening

ing between the front of the building and King Street was long known as "Court House Square," and formed a sort of public rendezvous for the citizens, more especially at election times and during seasons of public excitement. Street preaching was sometimes heard there, one of the best known of the preachers being the late David Willson, who subsequently erected his odd-looking "Temple" at Sharon, near Newmarket. The Gaol and Court House were separate buildings, but were placed side by side, and were exactly alike. They were of red brick, two stories high, facing on the square to the south. Cut-stone pilasters ran up the front and outer sides of each. Another public work was the inclosure of the Market Place by a strong picket fence on the east, west, and south sides.

The new Houses of Parliament were not destined to be permanent, and stood for only a little more than four years, when they were once more destroyed by fire. This was on Christmas Day, 1824. The Provincial library and furniture were saved, but the loss to the Province was notwithstanding great, and was estimated at £2,000--a sum which appeared much larger in those days than it appears now, insomuch that the loss was regarded in the light of a national calamity. For several subsequent sessions the Provincial Legislature assembled in the old general hospital on King Street West, which was a spacious, matter-of-fact, two-story structure of red brick, 107 feet long by 66 feet wide, with a flattish hipped roof, a conveniently designed interior, and recessed galleries on the north and south sides. It stood with its four sides facing precisely the four cardinal points of the compass; and as the adjacent streets were not laid out with equal regard to true masonic principles, the old building soon came to have the appearance of being completely askew.

The month of November, 1824, witnessed the arrival at York of a resident who was destined to play a somewhat conspicuous part in the history not only of the little capital but of the Province itself. The name of this resident was William Lyon Mackenzie. The particulars of Mr. Mackenzie's chequered career are familiar to most readers of these pages. He had kept a drug store at York several years before this time, but had removed to Dundas, whence he again removed to Queenston, where he established a newspaper which subsequently gained notoriety as the *Colonial Advocate*. After issuing this paper at Queenston for about six months, he removed his plant to York, which removal, as we have seen, took place in November, 1824. By his sarcastic exposure—both orally and through the columns of the *Advocate*—of many abuses which prevailed in those days, Mr. Mackenzie had already aroused the animosity

of the prevailing faction, who lost no opportunity of manifesting their feelings towards him. At the time of the removal of the *Advocate* to York the hostility of the faction was at its height, and this circumstance temporarily increased the paper's circulation. When Parliament met on the 11th of January, 1825, it was evident that a great change had been wrought in public opinion, and it was pretty generally believed that the philippies of the *Advocate* had had something to do with bringing about the change. The Compact found itself in a minority. Some of the persons comprising it burned with hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness towards the man who had so fiercely assailed them, and who had, as they believed, sounded the death-knell of their supremacy in the Province. Seventeen months later the animosity of their adherents took a more decided shape than it had ever done before. The incident, which was a not unimportant event in the history of York, is thus related by Mr. Mackenzie's biographer:—"One fine summer evening, to-wit, the 8th of June, 1826, a genteel mob, composed of persons closely connected with the ruling faction, walked into the office of the *Colonial Advocate*, at York, and in accordance with a preconcerted plan, set about the destruction of types and press. Three pages of the paper in type on the imposing stones, with a 'form' of the journals of the House, were broken up, and the face of the letter battered. Some of the type was then thrown into the bay, to which the printing office was contiguous; some of it was scattered on the floor of the office, more of it in the yard, and in the adjacent garden of Mr. George Monro. The imposing stone was thrown on the floor. A new cast-iron patent lever press was broken. . . . This scene took place in broad daylight, and it was said that one or two magistrates, who could not help witnessing it, never made the least attempt to put a stop to the outrage. . . . This scene took place on what is now the corner of Caroline and Palace Streets, the printing offices adjoining Mr. Mackenzie's private residence, the house having been for a time the residence of one of the early Governors of the Province."* Mr. Mackenzie subsequently brought an action for damages against the rioters, and recovered a verdict of £625. A subscription was set on foot by some of the friends of the defendants, and in this way the greater part of the amount was raised, so that the culprits escaped the just punishment of their misdeeds.

The population of York at this time was about 1,650, and the number of houses somewhat more than 300, of which only about two per cent.

* See "The Life and Times of William Lyon Mackenzie," by Charles Lindsey, vol. i., pp. 78, 79.

were built of brick. An improvement in the local architecture dates from this era, a number of comparatively fine buildings having been erected during the next two or three years. Upper Canada College was founded in 1829, during the administration of Sir John Colborne, who was Sir Peregrine Maitland's successor in the Lieutenant-Governorship. The institution was modelled after the great public schools of England, and was formally opened in January, 1830, in the York Home District Grammar School, on Adelaide Street. Here it remained for more than a year, when the college buildings were completed, and it was removed thither. Its object was to impart a liberal classical and commercial education, which object has been carried out with marked success. A large proportion of the leading professional and business men of the Dominion have received their training at this institution, and its pupils have won distinction in almost every walk of life. Among other improvements dating from this period the College Avenue must not be forgotten. It was first laid out in 1829, but not actually begun until the following year. The work was carried on under the auspices of King's College—now the University of Toronto—and the avenue was simply intended for a sequestered walk from the busy turmoil of the streets to the threshold of the projected seat of learning. In this place it will not be out of place to chronicle the fact that in 1859 the Queen Street Avenue (120 feet wide) and Yonge Street Avenue—which is much narrower, and which crosses the former at right angles at its northern end—together with fifty acres of the University Park, were leased by the University to the Corporation of the City of Toronto for a period of 999 years, for the purpose of a public park, to be kept in order by the city.

During this period a new St. James's Church was erected, on the site of its predecessor. The new edifice was of stone, and was a hundred feet long by seventy-five feet broad. It had only a brief existence, and was burned down in 1839.

The time was rapidly approaching when the capital of Upper Canada was to be known as York no longer, but was to become an incorporated city under its former name of Toronto. The three or four years immediately preceding its incorporation were marked by a succession of stormy scenes in the Provincial Legislature. It has been seen that Sir John Colborne succeeded Sir Peregrine Maitland as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. The new Governor convened his first Parliament on the 9th of January, 1829, in the old brick hospital on King Street West, where the Legislature had met ever since the destruction by fire of the Parliamentary buildings in 1824. The Compact found itself in a decided minority, and the

language of the debate on the Address showed that Reform principles were making rapid progress in the public mind. It was during this year that Robert Baldwin first entered the public arena. In July, 1829, the Attorney-General, Sir John Beverley Robinson, who had theretofore sat in the Assembly for York, was elevated to a seat on the bench, as Chief Justice of Upper Canada. A vacancy being thus created in the representation of York, Robert Baldwin, then a young man only twenty-five years of age, came forward as a candidate, and was elected to fill the vacancy. Being an opponent of the faction, and a man of more liberal ideas than were common at York in those days, his cause was warmly espoused by Mr. Mackenzie in the *Colonial Advocate*. Mr. Small, the opponent of Mr. Baldwin, was from time to time fiercely assailed in its columns, and these attacks were made the medium of vehement diatribes against the Compact, of which Mr. Small was an adherent. The result was an action for libel on the part of Mr. Small, and ever-intensified hostility on the part of the Compact generally. Mr. Mackenzie was himself a member of the Legislature, having been elected for the County of York in 1828. The death of King George IV., in 1830, brought about a dissolution, and at the ensuing elections the oligarchy contrived to regain the ascendancy. They determined that Mr. Mackenzie should be got rid of, and an obsolete rule which forbade the unauthorized publication of the Parliamentary proceedings was revived to meet his case. He had for some time been in the habit of publishing a summary of those proceedings as general items of news, and it was claimed that in so doing he had been guilty of a breach of Parliamentary privilege. The existence of such a rule could not be denied, and he was expelled the House. The result was an enthusiastic demonstration on the part of his adherents. He himself was carried through the streets amid the applause of the populace, who took this method of testifying their approbation of his conduct. The electors of his constituency showed their opinion of his expulsion by re-electing him. Another expulsion followed, and another re-election, and this farce was repeated, in all, no fewer than five times. It was found that no candidate could oppose Mr. Mackenzie with any chance of success, and his constituency was punished by being left for three years with only one representative. Mr. Mackenzie meanwhile crossed over to Great Britain, as the bearer of certain petitions arising out of his frequent expulsions from Parliament. Thither it is not necessary that we should follow him. Shortly after his return the town of York ceased to exist, and the City of Toronto was ushered into being. The circumstances under which this transformation was effected are sufficiently described at the close of the earlier portion of this volume.

THE CITY OF TORONTO,

FROM ITS INCORPORATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANTE-REBELLION PERIOD.

HE incorporation of the city dates from the 6th of March, 1834. On the 15th of the same month, as already narrated by Dr. Seadding, a proclamation was issued calling upon the citizens to elect aldermen and councilmen on that day fortnight—*i. e.*, on the 27th. The excitement consequent upon Mr. Mackenzie's successive expulsions from Parliament, and his repeated re-elections, had by no means subsided. Political feeling ran very high, and the opposing parties were arrayed against each other like hostile camps. The fact that the adherents of one party espoused any particular measure was quite sufficient to secure for it the rancorous opposition of the adherents of the other party. It was always easy for the supporters and the opponents respectively to find plausible pretexts for their line of action. The Act of Incorporation had been opposed by the Reform party, on the ground that the expense of a separate administration for the city and county would more than counterbalance any benefit which the citizens would obtain therefrom. The Conservatives had supported the measure on the ground that the civic revenue would be increased by the extended area of taxation, and that the work of municipal government would be more efficiently carried on. The election of aldermen and councilmen was therefore a fair test of the strength of the respective parties in the city for the time being. A majority of Reformers was returned, among whom was Mr. Mackenzie himself, who was elected for St. David's Ward.

It is perhaps worth while to give the entire composition of this first Council of the City of Toronto. It must be premised that by the Act of

MAYORS



William Henry Brewster
1845-46-47 pl 52



Mr. George Bowes
1851-52-53-54-55-56-57



Joshua George Bear
1852



Hon. George W. Allen
1855.



F. J. Beverley Robinson
1856



John Hutchinson, 1857

Incorporation the city had been divided into five wards—St. Andrew's, St. David's, St. George's, St. Lawrence and St. Patrick's. The following table exhibits the result of the several elections:—

WARD.	ALDERMEN.	COUNCILMEN.
ST. ANDREW'S.....	Dr. Thomas D. Morrison.....	<i>John Armstrong,</i> <i>John Harper.....</i>
ST. DAVID'S .. .	William Lyon Mackenzie .. .	<i>Franklin Jackes,</i> <i>James Lesslie.....</i>
ST. GEORGE'S.....	Thomas Carfrae, Jr.	<i>John Craig,</i> <i>Edward Wright</i>
ST. LAWRENCE.....	George Monro	<i>William Arthurs,</i> <i>George Duggan, Sr.....</i>
ST. PATRICK'S .. .	Dr. John Rolph	<i>Lardner Bostwick,</i> <i>George T. Denison, Sr.</i>
		<i>Joseph Trotter.</i>

Of the score of gentlemen thus elected to civic honours half a century ago, two only still survive. Mr James Lesslie, Mr. Mackenzie's colleague in the representation of St. David's Ward, still resides in the immediate neighbourhood of Toronto, and, notwithstanding his great age, his figure is still occasionally seen on our streets. Mr. John Harper, Dr. Morrison's colleague from St. Andrew's Ward, is another familiar personality. He has continuously resided here for the last sixty-six years—having first reached York in 1818, when he was a boy of twelve—and, if appearances afford any just indication, he is likely to remain among us for a good many years more. Few men of sixty-five afford such specimens of healthy, green old age, as does Mr. Harper in his seventy-ninth year.

Election contests at York had not unfrequently been marked by passages of arms neither "gentle" nor "joyous." The municipal contest of 1834, however, seems to have been conducted with more than ordinary decorum. The *Courier* of March 29th, commenting upon the subject, remarked that "the elections generally, considering the very unusual excitement which previously prevailed on the subject, passed off comparatively quietly, their being but few black eyes and bloody noses to be counted at the termination of the engagement." The expression "but few," would seem to indicate that such disfigurements, though less numerous than might have been expected, were not altogether wanting.

Pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Incorporation, the aldermen and councilmen were to meet for the first time at noon, on Thursday, the 3rd of April, in the Town Hall, for the purpose of electing a mayor, and of taking the first steps towards organizing the framework of muni-

cipal government. A number of the Reform majority, perceiving that the game was in their own hands, held a caucus on the evening of Monday, the 31st of March, for the purpose of settling upon a plan of operations. It was commonly understood that their candidate for the mayoralty would be Dr. Rolph, one of the ablest men in the Reform party, whose abilities and social position made him generally respected. The question was thoroughly canvassed, and in the course of the discussion an opinion was advanced that Dr. Rolph might well afford to temporarily waive his claims in favour of Mr. Mackenzie. Mr. Mackenzie, it was urged, had been shamefully misused. He had been deprived of his seat in the Assembly, expelled thence by bodily force, and treated with a degree of contumely which would have permanently broken a less elastic spirit. Nay, more, he had been maligned and slandered at the Home Office, where his enemies had represented him as a mere demagogue: as the spokesman of a mere clique of knavish radicals. He had certainly suffered grievous wrong for the cause of Reform. What a triumph for Reform principles, then, to place him in the Chief Magistrate's chair! What a complete refutation of the countless slanders against him would be afforded by his election to the highest dignity which his fellow-townsmen, as such, had it in their power to confer upon him! Such were the arguments put forward on Mr. Mackenzie's behalf, and most of the members present at the caucus lent to them a ready ear. It was finally arranged that they should be acted upon, and that the Reform vote should be cast for Mr. Mackenzie. Dr. Rolph did not submit without a murmur. He, too, had done loyal service to his party, for which he had received no recompense. He does not appear to have had a very elevated opinion of Mackenzie at any time, and did not relish the idea of having his own claims passed over in that gentleman's interests. Obviously, however, it did not lie in his mouth to press the case on his own behalf under such circumstances. He bowed to the will of the majority, but was far from satisfied, and on the following day he determined to withdraw from the Council altogether. He accordingly wrote out a formal letter of resignation, which he entrusted to Dr. Morrison, to be used by that gentleman at his discretion at the impending meeting of the Council.

Meanwhile the Conservative members held a conference on their own account. The majority was against them, so that there was no possibility of their electing a mayor from their own ranks. They had heard Dr. Rolph's name mentioned as the probable candidate of the Reformers, and were quite ready to acquiesce in the selection. Mr. Carfrae, one of the aldermanic representatives from St. George's Ward, wrote to Dr. Rolph,

tendering his support. The Doctor replied, thanking his correspondent for the offer, but announcing that he had determined to resign his seat in the Council.

Thus matters stood when the City Council assembled for the first time, on the appointed 3rd of April. All the members were present except Dr. Rolph, whose determination had not yet become generally known. By general request Mr. Doel took the chair *pro tem.*, whereupon Mr. Jackes moved "that William Lyon Mackenzie, Esq., be the Mayor of this city." The motion was seconded by Mr. Lesslie. Several members began to put forward the claims of Dr. Rolph to the civic chair, but their oratory was cut short by Dr. Morrison, who read the Doctor's letter withdrawing himself from the Corporation, and resigning his seat in the Council.* Mr. Carfrae stated that he had received from Dr. Rolph a letter of similar import. There was therefore no excuse for continuing the discussion, and the chairman submitted Mr. Jackes's motion, which was carried by a majority of two. Mr. Mackenzie was accordingly declared duly elected by the Chairman. The yeas and nays were recorded as follows:

*Yea*s.—Doel, Turton, Jackes, Drummond, Lesslie, Bostwick, Harper, Wright, Arthurs and Morrison—10.

*Nay*s.—Craig, Gurnett, Trotter, Monro, Denison, Armstrong, Carfrae, and Duggan—8.

Mr. Mackenzie himself abstained from voting. Mr. Doel having vacated the chair, it was taken by the Mayor-elect, who returned thanks for the honour that had been conferred upon him. After the transaction of some unimportant business, the Council adjourned at a quarter to three o'clock, to re-assemble at the call of the Mayor.

Such was the first meeting of our Municipal Council; and thus was Mr. Mackenzie elected to the highest place in the gift of his fellow-citizens, whereby he became not only Mayor of Toronto, but the first Mayor ever elected in Upper Canada. "The event," says his biographer, Mr. Lindsey, "was looked upon as possessing some political significance, for Toronto was the seat of Government, and the headquarters of the Family Compact." Late in the afternoon of the day of his election, Mr. Mackenzie took the prescribed oath before Judge Macaulay, and thenceforward was fully clothed with the dignity and authority of his office.

*Dr. Rolph's withdrawal from the Council rendered another election necessary, and Dr. John E. Tims was returned in his stead. Two other changes in the membership of the Council took place during the year. Mr. George Duggan's election was upset by a judicial decision, and during the month of April Mr. William Cawthra was returned in his stead. On the 15th of September Mr. Joshua G. Beard was returned for St. Lawrence Ward in place of Mr. Lardner Bostwick, deceased.

The newly-elected Council, in administering the affairs of the city, had by no means a sinecure on their hands. They held frequent meetings during the spring and summer, and set on foot the work of municipal organization. Committees were struck to ascertain and report upon various matters whereof it was necessary to take immediate cognizance. Certain civic officials were appointed to assist in carrying out matters of detail. James Hervey Price, a gentleman who afterwards attained some distinction in Canadian politics, was appointed City Clerk. He held the position until early in the ensuing year, when he was succeeded by Charles Daly, who thenceforward held the position until his death, in April, 1864, covering an interval of twenty-nine years. Matthew Walton was appointed Chamberlain, but survived his appointment only a few weeks, when he was succeeded by the late Andrew T. McCord, who retained the office until the month of October, 1874, embracing a period of more than forty years.

There was much to be done, and the Council bent their energies with commendable zeal to the multifarious duties before them. They were compelled to work under serious disadvantages, for numerous public works had to be undertaken, and the city's exchequer was practically empty. A sum of upwards of nine thousand pounds was due to the Bank of Upper Canada for money loaned some years before for the purpose of erecting the market buildings. The following report, which was presented to the City Council by the Finance and Assessment Committee, at a sitting held on the 9th of May, sheds a tolerably clear light upon the financial aspect of the city's affairs:—

The Committee on Finance and Assessment beg to submit the following report:

1. That the leases of the market ground afford a rent annually of £423 10 0	
The rents of the market buildings afford.....	187 0 0
The rents of the butchers' stalls afford till the 5th day of January next.....	373 16 0
	—————

Making the total amount of..... £984 6 0

Whether any of the above sum or all is paid your committee are not informed.

2. Your committee have made the best endeavours to ascertain what might be the probable revenue of the city, and till now they have been unable to procure such documents as will give that correct information on the subject desired, but having procured an assessment roll of the late town of York taken this year, they find that the rateable property on the same amounts to £131,549, making a tax at one penny in the pound..... £547 19 11

Your committee have allowed one-fourth of this as the probable additional amount of rateable property in consequence of the enlargement of the city by the Act of Incorporation, which will be to £32,879, making a tax at 1d in the pound..... 136 19 11

£684 19 10

Your committee suppose that the fees, licenses, ferries, fines and forfeitures will amount to..... 200 0 0

£884 19 10

The whole amount of available receipts for the purposes of the city :—

Your committee find that an amount will arise on statute labour to be commuted for money according to the Incorporation Act and the laws of the province at 2s. 6d. per day, which according to the Incorporation Act is to be wholly expended on the streets £596 12 6

Your committee derive these data for this sum from the assessment roll above alluded to—one-fourth of that amount for the enlargement of the city.. 100 0 0

£696 12 6

Being the amount of revenue at the disposal of the corporation for the streets, &c.

The treasurer of the Home District makes the following demands against the city :—

The loan due the Bank of U. C. for market buildings,..... £9,240 0 0

To sums due different persons..... 226 6 10

To balance due himself..... 164 3 6

£9,630 10 4

Upon the recommendation of the Finance Committee, the Council adopted a resolution: That, in addition to the rates and assessments payable to the general funds of the Home District, there shall be raised, levied, and collected for the present year, by a tax on the real and personal property within this city and the liberties thereof, two pence in the pound upon the assessed value of the said property, as now settled by the general assessment laws of this Province.

With this unpropitious state of the finances it was necessary that the Council should deal promptly, for money was urgently needed. Among the various public improvements that could not well be delayed was the construction of sidewalks. There was not a single plank sidewalk in the city. Nothing was to be found in the shape of a properly constructed pavement of any kind. Here and there along King Street might be seen a few flag-stones of irregular size and form, taken from the lake shore, and placed along the side of the street without method or arrangement.

The outer edge of the footpath was defined and marked out by square, rough-hewn logs of wood, which were a boon to foot passengers when the street was muddy, as it frequently was. These logs were at least less muddy than the bed of the footpath, and were largely used by persons perambulating the streets. When two passengers walking thereon in different directions met, it was necessary that one should yield the way to the other, who was thus compelled to take to the mud. Two or three of the leading merchants went so far as to gravel the footpath in front of their places of business, for the accommodation of their customers and the public. At irregular intervals were wooden posts, used by the farmers in tying their horses.

This is not an attractive picture of King Street, which was then, as now, the principal commercial mart of the city; but, as will be inferred from the foregoing account, the King Street of 1834 was a very different affair from that of to-day. According to Walton's Directory for that year, the street contained 287 buildings, public and private, but many of them were old and dilapidated, and some few were utterly unfit for human habitations. The street was described as "the main street through the centre of the town, one mile and a half in length, commencing at the east end, runs west to Peter Street, and then terminates." The fine building of the brothers Ridout, on the North-east corner of King and Yonge Streets, had been erected the previous year. It was the finest "store" in the place, but was looked upon as a very foolish venture on the part of the two brothers, as being too expensive a building, and altogether in advance of the city's requirements. Even here there was no sidewalk, nor any substitute for one. In this Year of Grace 1834 we have heard many loud and just complaints of the condition of King Street; but in 1834, a walk along that thoroughfare from Yonge Street to the Market, during wet weather, was something for a dandy to shudder at.

The change in the aspect of Yonge Street is more noticeable still to any one who remembers it in the year 1834. It contained at that time 104 buildings. This is a subject upon which Dr. Seadding is entitled to speak with authority, and from his well-known "*Toronto of Old*" the present writer ventures to condense and adapt the following account of the appearance of Yonge Street half a century ago:—Where the warehouses, running eastward along Front Street from Yonge Street, now stand, the observer in 1834 would have seen only the orchard and pleasure grounds of Chief Justice Scott, with his residence in the midst; and nearly opposite, on the west side, the house and grounds of Chief Justice Sir James Macaulay. Between these dwellings and King Street, on the east side, there stood the

smithy of Mr. Philip Klinger, a German, whose name was familiar as a household word among the farmers around Toronto. This smithy was the only attraction and place of resort on Yonge Street, south of King Street. On the opposite side *i.e.*, of Yonge Street, we find the familiar names of Hincks, Francis, then described as occupant of a wholesale warehouse; Dr. W. Warren Baldwin; Robert Baldwin, attorney, etc. At the corner of Newgate Street, or Adelaide Street, as it is now called, on the left side stood the famous tanyard of Mr. Jesse Ketchum, with high stacks of hemlock bark piled up on the Yonge Street side. On the north side of Newgate Street, and fronting on Yonge Street, stood his residence, a large white building in the American style, with a square turret, bearing a railing, rising out of the ridge of the roof. Before pavements of any kind were introduced, Mr. Ketchum rendered the footpaths hereabout clean and comfortable by a thick coating of tan-bark. Mr. Ketchum's property extended to Lot (now Queen) Street. Richmond Street passed through it, and he himself projected and opened Temperance Street. To the readiness with which he supplied building sites for moral and religious use, it is due that, at this day, the quadrilateral between Queen Street and Adelaide Street, Yonge Street and Bay Street, is a sort of miniature Mount Athos, a district crowded with places of worship.* He gave in Yorkville also sites for a schoolhouse and Temperance Hall, and, besides, two acres for a children's park. The Bible and Tract Society likewise, obtained its house on Yonge Street on easy terms from Mr. Ketchum, on the condition that the Society should annually distribute in the Public Schools the amount of ground rent, in the form of books—a condition that continues to be punctually fulfilled. The ground rent of an adjoining tenement was also secured to the Society by Mr. Ketchum, to be distributed in Sunday Schools in a similar way. Among the subscriptions to a "common school" in York in 1820, a novelty at the period, his name is set down for one hundred dollars. Subscriptions for that amount, to any object, were not frequent in York at that date. Passing by Mr. Ketchum's property, the next object that struck the eye in walking up Yonge Street, in 1834, was a square white edifice on the west side, known as Elliott's Sun Tavern. Here for many years the county meetings and county elections were held. Adjoining the tavern was a large piece of open ground, generally occupied by the travelling menageries and circuses, when such exhibitions visited the town. On

* The resemblance to Mount Athos has somewhat diminished since the Doctor's account was written. Two buildings which were formerly churches, within the quadrilateral indicated, have of late years been turned to secular uses.

the east side, almost directly opposite to the Sun Tavern, stood Good's foundry, well known from supplying the county for a number of years with ploughs, stoves and other articles of heavy hardware. Albert Street, now one of the most densely built portions off Yonge Street, was, in 1834, known as Macaulay Lane, and described by Walton as "fronting the fields." From this point a long stretch of fine forest-land extended to Yorkville. The fields which Macaulay Lane fronted were the improvements around Dr. Macaulay's abode. The white entrance gate to his house was near where now a short street leads into Trinity Square. Dr. Macaulay's clearing on the north side of Macaulay Lane was, in relation to the first town plot of York, long considered a locality particularly remote, a spot to be discovered by strangers not without difficulty.

Such being the primitive condition of the two main thoroughfares of Toronto in 1834, some idea may be formed of the state of the less important streets. Many of them had nothing to distinguish them from back-country roads. They had not even ditches at the side, to carry away the water. The Council bestirred themselves to find a remedy for this state of affairs, and provision was made for laying 2,618 rods of sidewalk, partly apportioned as follows:—Yonge Street from Front, 228 rods; Church Street to Richmond, 152; Lot to Peter, 356; March Street, 152; Newgate Street, 160; Richmond Street, 214 $\frac{1}{4}$; Hospital to John Street, 178; Murray to John Street, 400; Duke Street, 174; George Street, 174; New Street, 150. This, of course, was not accomplished without the expenditure of money. It was necessary to borrow a thousand pounds forthwith, in anticipation of the taxes. Application was made to the Bank of Upper Canada to advance that amount, but the Bank, as previously recorded, had already a claim of more than £9000 against the city, and did not wish to increase the liability. An application to the Farmers' Bank was more successful. The money was advanced upon the personal security of the Mayor and other members of the Council, and the work of laying down plank sidewalks was forthwith begun. It was necessary to make the lumber go as far as possible, and the planks were laid longitudinally. The width was two feet, consisting of two twelve-inch planks.

Before the setting-in of the next autumn there was a very perceptible improvement in the aspect of the streets generally. But in order to meet the demands upon the public purse it was deemed necessary to levy on the taxpayers a rate of assessment of three pence in the pound. This was unprecedented and unlooked for. Dissatisfied mutterings were heard on every side, and the Mayor determined to

explain the state of the city finances at a public meeting to be specially called for the purpose. The meeting was called accordingly, and took place on the evening of the 29th of July, when Mr. Mackenzie proceeded to give a lucid explanation of the financial situation. He was interrupted in his remarks by Mr. Sheriff Jarvis, who announced his intention of moving a vote of censure on the Mayor. Mr. Mackenzie responded by moving a resolution pledging the citizens not to support any candidate at the next Parliamentary election whose position as an office-holder made him dependent on the Government. As there were more than 1,000 persons present the meeting became too stormy to be controlled, and was adjourned until the following day. Next morning the opponents of the Mayor issued placards calling the adjourned meeting for three o'clock in the afternoon—a most inconvenient hour for business men and mechanics. This was regarded by Mr. Mackenzie as a breach of faith, and he treated it as such by forbidding the city bellman to announce the meeting. He also determined not to attend it. As the event turned out, it would have been well if the other citizens of Toronto had formed and acted upon a similar determination, for the proceedings terminated in a calamity which may almost be called a tragedy. It is thus described by Mr. Mackenzie's biographer :—"The market, in which the meeting was held, was a parallelogram, and over the butchers' stalls was a balcony to accommodate spectators. While the Sheriff was addressing the meeting, he said :—'I care no more for Mr. Mackenzie than'—here he looked up and saw a crow flying over—that crow,' he added. This was deemed a great oratorical stroke, and it elicited a cheer. The crowd above, in stamping their feet, broke down the balcony, and in the descent some were impaled on the butchers' hooks, others broke their limbs, or received some other injury. Seven or eight died from the injuries they received, and others were crippled for life."

This calamity was soon afterwards followed by one still more terrible : a visitation of the Asiatic cholera. This deadly scourge had just swept over Europe, leaving terror and destruction in its wake wherever it went. It was imported into Canada in an emigrant vessel which arrived at Quebec, and it rapidly marched westward, carrying death and dismay into all the frontier settlements. A local writer has described its advent with a force which does not suffer greatly when compared with Defoe's account

of the Great Plague of London. We are informed that during the height of the panic many victims stricken with this terrible disease were left without medical or any other assistance, and frequently cholera patients had to trust to the merciful attentions of strangers, or the few paid nurses, before they could be removed to the hospital. Every twentieth inhabitant was swept away by this visitation. A few heroic men and women banded themselves together for the purpose of visiting the homes of the stricken, and securing to them such assistance as was necessary. Frequently some of this noble band, among whom was the Mayor, might be seen placing the victims in the cholera carts, and driving them to the hospital.

The public pillory and stocks continued in occasional use down to the period of the city's incorporation. Their permanent abolition was due to an unpopular act of Mr. Mackenzie. Squire Hazeldean and Dr. Rieeaboeea had not then been created, so that Mr. Mackenzie may be excused for not taking warning from the leading case on the subject. The local stocks, though they were in existence at the time of Toronto's incorporation, had practically fallen into disuse, no one having been placed in them for several years. Mr. Mackenzie was the last man in the world to heed the maxim *Quieta non morere*, even if he had ever heard of it. A woman of notoriously bad character was brought before him on a charge of drunkenness. She was in such a condition that no witnesses were considered necessary to prove the charge, and Mr. Mackenzie admonished her with magisterial severity. The culprit's response to this admonition was to draw off one of her muddy shoes and to fling it with violence at the occupant of the judgment seat. For this offence Mr. Mackenzie deemed a confinement in the stocks the most appropriate punishment, and directed the unhappy woman to be so placed. She was an abandoned creature, but the sentence did not meet with popular approval. The stocks were never used afterwards, and within a short time were finally removed. While they remained in use they seem to have been a migratory institution, sometimes being set up on the Market Square, and sometimes on the square in front of the Court House, on King Street. They were not of the conventional, old-fashioned kind formerly used in England, but were so constructed as to confine the feet, head and arms of the offender. Many persons still living in Toronto can remember the old stocks, and tell queer stories of the different persons whom they remember to have seen confined in them.

The first assessment of the city property was made in June, 1834, when the following returns were received :

St. George's Ward.....	£ 15,119
St. Patrick's Ward.....	25,268
St. Lawrence Ward.....	49,920
St. Andrew's Ward	33,075
St. David's Ward.....	63,500
Total	£186,882

This would yield a revenue, at 3d in the pound, of £2,336, 0s. 6d. From the time of the collection of the first city taxes, the Council were never at a serious loss for ways and means. The mere fact of the incorporation of the city, and the extension of its limits, gave a certain stimulus to the local industries. Thenceforward its course was rapidly progressive. Between 1830 and 1836 the population increased from 2,860 to over 10,000. The place had by this time emerged from the condition of a mere settlement on the frontier, and was, in appearance as well as in reality, the capital city of a growing Province.

At the municipal elections held early in 1835 the Reform majority was reversed, and the succeeding Mayor-elect was Robert Baldwin Sullivan. Mr. Sullivan was a brilliant Toronto lawyer, of Irish descent, and a first cousin of Robert Baldwin. He was one of the most voluble, and at the same time one of the most effective public speakers in the Province. He had professed Liberal principles, and had been a political coadjutor of his kinsman, Mr. Baldwin, but social and other influences had begun to weigh with him in favour of more Conservative views, and it had become evident that his alliance with the Conservative party was only a matter of time. He was no friend to Mackenzie, whom he regarded as too noisy and radical. He successfully opposed him in St. David's Ward, and the choice of the Council fell upon the successful candidate as Mayor for the ensuing year. In the previous October, Mackenzie had been returned to the Assembly as representative of the Second Riding of York, a re-distribution of seats having been effected whereby the County was divided into four ridings. He thus found ample scope for his activity, independently of municipal affairs. It may here be mentioned that the city arms, with the motto : "Industry, Intelligence, Integrity," were designed by him. At a public meeting, held on the 5th of January, 1835, a vote of thanks to him "for the faithful discharge of his arduous duties during the period of his office," received the unanimous support of those present.

There were no local events of much historical importance during the year 1835. The city continued to increase in population and commercial prosperity, notwithstanding the fact that, for causes well known to students of our history, the immigration to the Province fell off very greatly during the year. The lurid flames of the rebellion had not yet begun to cast their shadows before, though events were steadily shaping themselves in that direction. Early in the Parliamentary session of that year Mr. Mackenzie moved for and obtained his famous Committee on Grievances. Some of those grievances had already obtained wide recognition among the people of the Province, and had produced not a little discontent. There was a steadily-growing feeling in favour of Responsible Government, and inimical to the practically unlimited patronage of the Colonial Office. Sir John Colborne, who was not popular with the malecontents, still continued to direct the Administration, though his term of office had expired during the previous November, and before the close of the year he received official intelligence of the appointment of his successor, Sir Francis Bond Head. He remained at the head of the Government until the setting-in of 1836, and it was on the 15th of January, only a few days before his departure from Toronto, that he was induced by his Executive Council to endow the forty-four rectories from the Clergy Reserve lands of the Province. Particulars of this transaction may be found in the various histories of Canada. It brought down the maledictions of a large proportion of the people upon the head of the retiring Governor, and did not a little to increase the popular discontent which, at no distant day, was to find expression in open revolt against his authority.

The municipal elections held in January, 1836, resulted in the elevation of Dr. Thomas D. Morrison to the chief magistracy. Hardly had he taken upon himself the duties of his office ere Sir Francis Bond Head, the new Governor, reached Toronto. Sir Francis's characteristics are well known to the reading public of Canada. He was a clever but superficial man, without any training in statesmanship, and utterly unsuited to the place which it devolved upon him to fill. His voyage from England to Canada had been made by way of New York, and he had occupied himself while crossing the Atlantic in studying the blue book containing the report of the Committee on Grievances. He arrived at Toronto on the 23rd of January. His "Narrative," published three years later, affords a sufficiently distinct idea of his "simplicity of mind, ill-naturedly called ignorance," at this time. "With Mr. Mackenzie's heavy book of lamentations in my portmanteau," he writes, "and with my remedial instructions in my writing-case, I considered myself as a political physician, who,

whether regularly educated or not, was about to effect a surprising cure; for, as I never doubted for a moment either the existence of the 533 pages of grievances, or that I would mercilessly destroy them root and branch, I felt perfectly confident that I should very soon be able proudly to report that the grievancees of Upper Canada were defunct—in fact, that I had *veni-ed*, *vidi-ed*, and *vici-ed* them. As, however, I was no more connected with human polities than the horses that were drawing me—as I had never joined any political party, had never attended a political discussion, and had never even voted at an election, or taken any part in one—it was with no little surprise that, as I drove into Toronto, I observed the walls placarded in large letters which designated me as ‘Sir Francis Head, a tried Reformer.’” The light, airy tone which he adopts in commenting upon this grave crisis in his life, which was likewise a grave crisis in the history of a colony, shows how unfitted he was by the texture of his mind to deal with serious and complicated public questions.

For a short time matters went smoothly enough with the new Lieutenant-Governor. He was a gentleman of pleasing manners and address, and produced a corresponding impression upon most of the officials and citizens with whom he was brought into close contact. But he was not long in discovering that administering the affairs of an important colony was a very different task from any with which he had previously been entrusted. There were various fiscal and municipal abuses which clamoured loudly for redress, but he encountered the most conflicting opinions on all sides, not only as to the proper remedies for those abuses, but as to the nature of the abuses themselves. He soon made up his mind that the Grievance Report which he had studied did not embody a full explanation of the manifold sources of dissatisfaction among the people. His position was one which would have taxed the intelligence of a much wiser man, and he is not to be sweepingly condemned for not seeing his way clear before him. It was natural enough, under the circumstances, that he should turn for advice to the leading members of his Executive Council, and to other persons of high official rank. Those gentlemen were the embodiment of old-fashioned Toryism, but they were generally admitted to be persons of ability and upright private character. They regarded Mackenzie and his political adherents with disgust and contempt, and were averse to making any concessions to them. They appear to have had no conception of the real state of public opinion, and would admit no shadow of doubt as to the soundness of their own views on matters pertaining to the carrying on of the administration. The effect of their counsels was soon apparent in the demeanour of Sir Francis, who began to

identify himself with the disastrous policy which had proved so fatal to the interests of the colony. In the language of a Canadian historian, he passed "from presumed Whiggism into old-fashioned Toryism," though he "shrank from the indecency of at once running counter to every principle of his appointment, and allying himself with the remnant of the Family Compact." For a brief season he even manifested an apparent disposition to give effect to the popular will. By way of conciliating the Reform party in the House of Assembly, he offered three vacant seats in the Executive Council to three prominent Reformers, namely, Robert Baldwin, John Rolph, and John Henry Dunn. These three gentlemen, after mature consideration, and after an understanding with the Governor as to the nature of their duties, accepted the overtures thus made to them, and were sworn into office. They soon found that they had been beguiled by a counterfeit, and that they were not to be allowed to have any real weight in the Government. They accordingly resigned their places, after having held office about three weeks. The constitutional stand taken by them at this juncture was such that their Tory colleagues felt bound to support them in it, and to prove their acquiescence by tendering their resignations at the same time. Sir Francis was from henceforth entirely in the hands of his unsworn advisers, under whose guidance he went on, step by step, to his ruin. More pliable instruments were appointed in the stead of the ex-Councillors, and the victory apparently rested on the shield of the Lieutenant-Governor. But his victory was more apparent than real. The Reform members of the Assembly, who once more constituted a majority of the House, began to manifest an ominous spirit of resistance to the Governor's arbitrary conduct. Even the Conservative members began to exhibit symptoms of independent judgment, and to distrust the tactics of this "tried Reformer." A resolution was adopted by the House in which his Excellency's treatment of his Councillors was censured in almost unqualified terms. He was referred to as having given his confidence to secret and unsworn advisers, under whose influence he was said to be acting. The Assembly declared its "entire want of confidence" in the recently-appointed Executive Councillors who had accepted office at Sir Francis's request, in place of those who had resigned. This declaration was embodied in an Address to his Excellency, in which regret was expressed at his conduct in causing the late Councillors to resign office. A request was also preferred in the Address that the new Councillors might be removed. This not only embodied the sentiments of a large majority of the members of the Assembly, but also of a large number of persons, Conservatives as well as Reformers, throughout the country. Petitions had poured into

the Assembly from various parts of the Province, praying that such an Address might be passed and presented. Of these facts Sir Francis had full cognizance, yet he could not or would not understand what such facts portended. He replied to the effect that he was not at all disposed to listen to advice from the House. The reply struck at the very root of constitutional freedom, and from this time forward the agitation in favour of Responsible Government gathered greater force than ever. The Assembly took the strong stand of refusing to vote the usual supplies. This spirit of opposition seemed rather to please the Governor than otherwise, as it furnished him with an excuse for enlarging upon the treasonable designs of the "low-bred and antagonist democracy," as he termed them, and for making long-winded appeals to the loyalty of his supporters. He possessed the knack of facile writing, and he exercised it to his heart's content during the period of his residence in Canada. Some of his letters to the Colonial Minister at this time are among the most extraordinary documents ever preserved in the archives of State. They are for the most part smooth and readable enough, but more like the efforts of a verbose and sensational newspaper correspondent than of a high Government official, to whose care had been entrusted the destinies of a long-suffering and long misgoverned people.

It is unnecessary in a work of this kind to minutely trace the steps whereby Sir Francis Head goaded a number of impetuous but originally loyal subjects into open rebellion. One episode, however, which occurred in the month of March, 1836, may be given as especially connected with our city's history. The Lieutenant-Governor, in replying to an Address of remonstrance presented to him at Government House from certain citizens of Toronto, declared that he would reply to it with as much attention as if it had emanated from either of the branches of the Legislature; but he added that he would reply "in plainer and more homely language." These unwise and undiplomatic words were accompanied by a patronizing, and even a contemptuous manner, which aroused the anger of the deputation. A rejoinder to what they considered as official insolence was prepared by Doctors Rolph and O'Grady. The following summary of it is given by Mr. Lindsey, in his "Life and Times of W. L. Mackenzie": "We thank your Excellency for replying to our Address, 'principally from the industrious classes of the city,' with as much attention as if it had proceeded from either branch of the Legislature; and we are duly sensible, in receiving your Excellency's reply, of your great condescension, in endeavouring to express yourself in plain and more homely language, presumed by your Excellency to be thereby brought down to the lower

level of our plainer and more homely understandings." They then pretended to explain the deplorable neglect of their education by the maladministration of former Governments of the endowment of King's College University, and referred to the many attempts of the Representative Chamber, baffled by the Crown-nominated Legislative Council, to apply three millions of acres of Clergy Reserves to the purposes of general education. "It is," they added, "because we have been thus maltreated, neglected, and despised, in our education and interests, under the system of Government that has hitherto prevailed, that we are now driven to insist upon a change that cannot be for the worse." The change they desired to bring about was "cheap, honest and responsible government." The responsibility of the Lieutenant-Governor to a government four thousand miles distant, "and guarded by a system of secret dispatches, like a system of espionage," which kept in "utter darkness the very guilt, the disclosure of which could alone consummate real and practical responsibility," had never, they declared, "saved a single martyr to Executive displeasure." Robert Gourlay still lived in the public sympathy, "ruined in his fortune, and overwhelmed in his mind, by official injustice and persecution; and the late Captain Matthews, a faithful servant of the public, broken down in spirits, narrowly escaped being another victim. The learned Mr. Chief Justice Willis struggled in vain to vindicate himself and the wounded justicee of the country; and the ashes of Francis Collins and Robert Randal lie entombed in a country in whose service they suffered heart-rending persecution and accelerated death. And even your Excellency has disclosed a secret dispatch to the Minister in Downing street (the very alleged tribunal of justice), containing most libellous matters against William Lyon Mackenzie, Esq., M. P. P., a gentleman known chiefly for his untiring services for his adopted and grateful country. We will not wait for the immolation of any other of our public men, sacrificed to a nominal responsibility, which we blush we have so long endured to the ruin of so many of His Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. * * If your Excellency will not govern us upon these principles, you will exercise arbitrary sway, you will violate our charter, virtually abrogate our law, and justly forfeit our submission to your authority." In this final sentence was embodied what Mr. Mackenzie characterized, correctly enough, as "the first low murmur of insurrection." The document was signed by Jesse Ketchum, James Hervey Price, James Lesslie, Andrew McGlashan, James Shannon, Robert McKay, M. McLellan, Timothy Parsons, William Lesslie, John Mills, E. T. Henderson, John Doel, John E. Tims, William

MAYORS.



Dr. Edward Kennedy Read CC
P: 1858



Hon. Adam Wilson O.C.
1859-60



Francis H. Medcalf
1864-65-66-1874-75



Samuel Bulerton Harman, 1869-70



James E. Smith 1870-71

J. O'Grady. Dr. Rolph, with characteristic caution, abstained from signing, though there is the clearest evidence of his having taken part in drawing up the rejoinder. "The rejoinder being ready," continues Mr. Lindsey, "the next question was how it was to be delivered. Such a document was quite irregular in official correspondence, and a violation of official etiquette. It was arranged that Mr. James Lesslie and Mr. Ketchum should drive in a carriage drawn by a noble Arabian horse to Government House, deliver the document, and retire before there was time for any questions to be asked. They did so, simply saying they came from the deputation of citizens. Sir Francis Head did not even know who were the bearers of the unwelcome missile. He sent it, in a passion, to Mr. George Ridout, on the speculation that he had been concerned in the delivery. Mr. Ridout sent it back. It was in type before being dispatched, and scarcely had it reached the Governor when a printed copy of it was in the hands of every member of the House. The Lieutenant-Governor was puzzled, half-stupefied, and well-nigh distracted."

So far as can be judged, at this distance of time, by a dispassionate observer, the deputation were more sensitive than the occasion demanded. Sir Francis's language was possibly, nay probably, taken for more than he intended. In any case, the dignified course would have been to avoid petulance, and to let the rejoinder severely alone. But the episode is characteristic of the time and the men. A wiser intellect than that of the Lieutenant-Governor would have carefully weighed the menace contained in the final sentence, and would have hesitated before unnecessarily provoking further hostilities from such quarters.

On the 28th of May his Excellency dissolved the Provincial Parliament, and immediately afterwards writs were issued for a new election. Sir Francis did not scruple to employ the most improper means of influencing the electors throughout the contest, and the whole power of the Executive was put forward to exclude Reformers from the Assembly. These tactics were for the time successful. Nearly all the prominent Reform candidates were beaten. Mr. Mackenzie shared in the general disaster to his party, having been defeated for the Second Riding of York by a comparatively unknown man, of doubtful politics, and, as has been said by one writer, "without decided opinions of any kind." That the unsuccessful candidate was unfairly beaten there is little doubt, and the proceedings of some of the Government emissaries at the polls were shamelessly unjust and corrupt. From this time forward Mackenzie seems to have despaired of achieving any useful reforms by constitutional means. On the 4th of July he began the publication of a newspaper called *The*

Constitution. This was a legitimate successor of the *Advocate*, and strongly reflected the passions and individuality of its editor. The continued injustice he had suffered had intensified his bitterness, and to some extent soured his temper and sapped his loyalty, but as yet there does not seem to have been any fixed resolution to rebel. *The Constitution* continued to be published for nearly seventeen months, up to the very eve of the outbreak.

The new Parliament met in November, and at once proceeded to pass a Supply Bill. Another important measure adopted during the session was one erecting a Court of Chancery for Upper Canada. There was no legislation of historical importance affecting the City of Toronto, and the records of the time are barren of salient events in the local history. In January, 1837, Mr. George Gurnett, who many years afterwards became Police Magistrate of the city, was elected to the mayoralty.

It will readily be conceived that Toronto in those early days would not appear particularly attractive to persons accustomed to the fashion and glitter of the Old World. No one, however, seems to have been more unfavourably impressed by it than Mrs. Jameson, wife of Vice-Chancellor Jameson. This lady, whose name is pleasantly familiar to lovers of art and literature, was for some time a resident of Toronto. She reached the city, by way of New York, Albany and Queenston, towards the end of 1836. Her husband, who was then Attorney-General, had been a resident for several years; but she arrived unexpectedly, and he was not at the wharf to meet her. When she stepped from the boat her foot sank ankle-deep in the mud, and there being no conveyance at hand, she was compelled to walk through the muddy, uninviting streets, to her husband's residence, which was near the foot of Brook Street, on the west side. Such were the inauspicious circumstances which marked her first arrival at Toronto, and they seem to have imparted a permanent tinge to her impressions of the place. It was during her abode here that she wrote her "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles," wherein she thus describes the capital of Upper Canada as it appeared to her in the winter:—"What Toronto may be in summer, I cannot tell; they say it is a pretty place. At present its appearance to me, a stranger, is most strangely mean and melancholy. A little ill-built town, on low land, at the bottom of a frozen bay, with one very ugly church, without tower or steeple; some Government offices, built of staring red brick, in the most tasteless, vulgar style imaginable; three feet of snow all around; and the grey, sullen, wintry lake, and the dark gloom of the pine forest bounding the prospect; such seems Toronto to me

now." As a set off to this dispiriting account she admits that some of the shop fronts on King Street are rather imposing, and declares, in a patronizing kind of way, that the front of Beckett's apothecary shop is worthy of Regent Street in its appearance. The church referred to in the foregoing extract was St. James's, which, as she says, was without tower or steeple, but which certainly was not "very ugly." When she speaks of "one very ugly church" she must be understood as using the word church in contradistinction to chapel or meeting-house, as St. James's was by no means the only place of worship in the town. The Presbyterian body had two churches, one of which was on the site at present occupied by Knox Church. The Baptists had one on March Street, and the Congregationalists a small one on George Street. The Primitive Methodists had a small brick church on Bay Street. The Roman Catholic church on Power Street was also in existence. The Catholic Apostolic body, too, had a chapel a little west of Bay Street, presided over by the Reverend George Ryerson. More important than any of these, architecturally speaking, was the Adelaide Street Methodist Church. The first Methodist Church in York, referred to on a former page, continued to be the only place of worship for members of that body from the time of its erection in 1818 down to 1833. Two years before the latter date the membership had increased to such an extent that the official board determined to erect a church better suited to the requirements of the body, and obtained a site on what is now the corner of Adelaide and Toronto Streets, being a portion of the Court House block. Here a new brick church was completed in 1833, and was considered one of the best and most commodious ecclesiastical edifices in Western Canada. It continued to be used as a place of worship down to comparatively recent times, when, other and larger accommodation having been provided for the congregation, its further employment for ecclesiastical purposes became unnecessary. It was demolished a few years ago, and another building has arisen on its site.

CHAPTER II.

THE REBELLION, AND ITS FRUITS.

HE political events of 1837 and 1838 temporarily impeded the growth and prosperity of Toronto. When rumours of approaching insurrection began to make themselves heard with no uncertain sound, there ensued a lack of public confidence, and a consequent diminution of business enterprise. These rumours began to be heard during the summer of 1837. In July of that year Maekenzie discussed, in his *Constitution*, the probability of an early movement for independence in the sister Provinces. The French Canadians were ripe for insurrection, and looked for support to Upper Canada and the Maritime Provinces, as well as to the United States. The more advanced wing of the Upper Canadian Reform party sympathised with the movement, and were prepared to aid it. The members had begun to hold secret meetings in Doel's Brewery, on Bay Street, and elsewhere, for the discussion of matters which it would have been unsafe to discuss openly. A secret correspondence was kept up between them and the leaders of the rebellious movement in Lower Canada. On the 2nd of August a "Declaration of Independence" appeared in the *Constitution*, and thenceforth there could be no doubt that armed resistance to authority was in contemplation. The declaration was signed by Dr. Morrison, Dr. Tims, Dr. O'Grady, John Montgomery, James Hervey Price, David Gibson, John Doel, W. L. Mackenzie, and eleven other less known members of the Radical section of the Reform party. It contained a clause in these words:—"That the Reformers of Upper Canada are called upon by every tie of feeling, interest and duty, to make common cause with their fellow citizens of Lower Canada, whose successful coercion would doubtless be in time visited upon us, and the redress of whose grievances would be the best guarantee for the redress of our own."

In this movement the great bulk of the Reform party in Upper Canada had no share. Widespread as was the dissatisfaction, the people generally had not cast off their loyalty to the mother country. But the "extreme left" had grown weary of remonstrance and constitutional opposition. They joined hands with Papineau, with whom they maintained secret means of communication, and looked forward to the establish-

ment of an Upper Canadian republic. Vigilance committees were organized; arms and accoutrements were collected on a small scale at various points; secret drilling was practised by night; and various other preparations were made for a "rising." The active spirit of the movement was Mackenzie, who went hither and thither throughout the Home District, and addressed numerous public meetings. He indulged in most inflammatory language, and by his earnestness and evident sincerity won a good many converts to his opinions. There is no doubt that he might have been arrested and convicted of treasonable designs at any time within three or four months of the outbreak, but as he had committed no overt act of treason he was allowed to remain at large and unmolested by the authorities. The Lieutenant-Governor was kept continually informed of treasonable meetings, but affected to treat such information very lightly. He permitted Mackenzie, as he himself said, to make "deliberate preparation for revolt," and allowed the regular troops to be withdrawn from the Province to quell the insurrection in Lower Canada.

As the autumn wore away the insurrectionary projects were matured, and a definite plan of operations was agreed upon. A descent was to be made on Toronto, by way of Yonge Street, on Thursday, the 7th of December. The insurgents, to the number of four or five thousand men, were to assemble at Montgomery's tavern, about three miles north of the city, on the evening of that day, whence they were to advance southward upon the capital, and possess themselves of several thousand stand of arms in the City Hall. Sir Francis and his chief advisers were to be seized and kept in custody until some satisfactory settlement should be arrived at. The garrison was to be invested, and a Provisional Government formed, of which latter Dr. Rolph was to be administrator.

These projects, as every body knows, signally failed; though their failure was not due to any alertness on the part of the authorities, who persisted, up to the latest moment, in refusing to believe that active rebellion was at their doors. The rebellion, however, contained within itself the essential elements of its own failure. There was a want of harmony, organization and fixity of purpose among its leaders. The armed forces did not appear in any such numbers as had been expected. Other causes contributed to prevent the possibility of success, chief among which must be mentioned the change of date of the projected attack from Thursday the 7th, to Monday, the 4th. It seems to be generally conceded that for this change of date Dr. Rolph was responsible, though there are certain circumstances which would appear to lead to a different conclusion. But it is by no means quite clear why the date was changed at all. The reason assigned by

Mr. Lindsey, in his "Life and Times of Mackenzie," is that Dr. Rolph became alarmed, "under the impression that the Government was giving out the arms at the City Hall, and arming men to fill the garrison and form companies to arrest the leaders of the expected revolt throughout, between then and the next Thursday; that they had already distributed one hundred stand of arms, and had become aware of the day fixed for the rising."

Whatever may be the truth as to this obscure matter, when Mackenzie reached Montgomery's tavern on the night of Sunday, the 3rd, he found that the date had been altered, and from this time forward success for the movement was out of the question, as the whole plan of arrangements was thereby entirely upset. He himself seemed for a time to have lost heart, though it was too late for him to turn back, even had he so desired. He put the best face upon the matter, and advised an immediate advance upon the city. To this the other leaders would not consent. "They deemed it indispensable," says Mr. Mackenzie's biographer, "to wait till the conditions of the city could be ascertained, or till they were sufficiently reinforced to reduce the hazard of venture, in which all concerned carried their lives in their hands, to reasonable limits."

After some reflection on the changed aspect of affairs, Mr. Mackenzie resolved to proceed secretly into Toronto, in order to ascertain the real condition of affairs there, and as to whether it would be advisable to make an immediate attack. Three men, respectively named Anderson, Sheppard and Smith offered to join him, and the four set out together, between eight and nine o'clock at night, on their perilous journey. They had not advanced far ere they encountered two men on horseback, who proved to be Mr. John Powell, one of the Aldermen representing St. Andrew's Ward in the City Council, and Mr. Archibald Macdonald. Mackenzie hurriedly informed them of the state of affairs, and they received the intelligence with apparent surprise, though as matter of fact they had heard rumours of the mustering of a rebel force to the north of the city, and had ridden out for the express purpose of reconnoitring. They were informed by Mackenzie that it was necessary that they should be detained as prisoners, in order to prevent them from conveying intelligence to the Government. In response to a demand that they should surrender any arms they might have about them, they declared that they had none. Mackenzie next placed them in charge of Anderson and Sheppard, whom he instructed to convey them to Montgomery's. He and Smith then continued their ride towards the city, while the two prisoners and their captors rode in the opposite direction towards Montgomery's. Powell,

however, had—pardonably enough—deceived Mackenzie as to his not being armed, and he had proceeded but a short distance further towards the tavern ere he drew a pistol, and fired at Anderson, who fell from his horse. Powell wheeled his horse about, and rode rapidly towards the city. He soon passed Mackenzie and his companion, who called to him to halt. When he paid no attention to the demand, Mackenzie fired a pistol at his head, but missed him. Powell then wheeled again, and, approaching Mackenzie, snapped a pistol at him, but the weapon flashed in the pan, and did no harm. Powell then rode southward as fast as his horse could carry him. "He stayed not for brake, and he stopped not for stone," until he reached the toll-gate, which he found closed. He loudly summoned the gate-keeper, who either was sleeping soundly, or for some other reason did not respond to his summons. He was thus unable to make any further progress on horseback, and, believing that the rebels were in hot pursuit after him, and that no time was to be lost, he abandoned his horse and took to his heels. Fancying that he heard pursuers behind him, he secreted himself for a short time behind a log in the adjoining woods, but ere long emerged from his hiding-place, and ran through woods and fields till he reached the College Avenue, whence he made his way to Queen Street, and so on to the Government House. The Lieutenant-Governor had been suffering from headache, and had gone to bed, but Mr. Powell was at once admitted to his bedroom, and the entire establishment was soon astir. Just then Colonel Fitz Gibbon, Acting Adjutant-General, arrived with confirmatory intelligence of the proximity of the rebel forces. He also had been out to the northern suburbs on a reconnoitring expedition, and had learned that several hundreds of Mackenzie's followers were at Montgomery's ready to make a descent upon the city. "I went to the Governor's House," says the Colonel, in his narrative,* "to let his Excellency know all that I had done, when I met Mr. Powell coming down from his Excellency's bedroom, and he told me what had just occurred to him. I passed up to his Excellency and advised him to dress quickly and come with me to the City Hall, and that while he was dressing I would ride down to the end of Yonge Street, and ascertain whether or not the rebels had yet come so far, as, if they had, we must gain the Court House by one of the front streets, not liable, just then, to be traversed by them; and I did so. But on approaching the end of that street I saw some seven or eight men grouped together, and I called aloud, desiring one of them to approach and let me know who they were; but they all quickly ran behind the two corners of that and King Street.

* "An Appeal to the People of the late Province of Upper Canada." Montreal, 1847.

Being unarmed, and not doubting but that many concealed rebels were ready in town to join those coming in, I did not venture to approach them, but galloped rapidly back towards the Government House, from which I saw his Excellency issue with two or three of his servants, all armed, and I led him by Front street to the City Hall."

By this time the city was beginning to wake to the occasion. Bells were rung, and news of the impending danger was speedily diffused. The Lieutenant-Governor's family took refuge on board a steamer in the harbour, ready for flight should flight become necessary. As was to be expected under the circumstances, there was much excitement among the people, many of whom believed that nothing could save the city from falling into the hands of the rebels. A number of volunteers presented themselves at the City Hall, and were speedily armed with the muskets which had been stored there. Among these volunteers were the judges and many of the influential inhabitants. Mr. Powell procured another horse, and rode about the city, spreading the alarm. Judge Jones formed a piquet, and marched northward to the Yonge Street toll-gate. Colonel Fitz Gibbon followed in his wake, and upon reaching the gate learned that the rebels were still at Montgomery's.

Meanwhile, Mackenzie, finding that he could not with safety approach any nearer to the city, returned to the tavern. Upon reaching it he found that blood had been shed in his absence. Lieutenant-Colonel Moodie, an old Peninsular veteran, who for some years previously had lived a few miles northward from Toronto, had seen some of the rebel forces moving southward, and had resolved to make his way into Toronto and acquaint the authorities. He had set out on horseback, and had ridden rapidly down Yonge Street, and upon reaching Montgomery's he had found a guard drawn up across the road. Being ordered to halt, his only reply had been to fire a pistol at those who intercepted him, and to attempt to force his way through, whereupon a man named Ryan had fired at him from the steps in front of the tavern, inflicting a wound which soon afterwards proved mortal. Thus had blood been shed on both sides, almost contemporaneously. Anderson had died where he fell, after having been shot by Alderman Powell. He had never spoken after receiving his wound.

During the night Mackenzie received reinforcements from the rural districts, and again urged an immediate descent upon Toronto. Once more he was overruled, and so the fateful night passed by. Next day, Tuesday, the 5th, the insurgents found that they could muster between 700 and 800 men, and it was evident that nothing was to be gained by further delay. While they were deliberating what to do, Robert

Baldwin and Dr. Rolph arrived with a flag of truce from the Lieutenant-Governor. The rebels were astounded to see Dr. Rolph engaged on such a mission, as they knew him to be not only in full sympathy with the rising, but one of the most trusted organizers of it. The flag of truce was probably a mere ruse on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor to gain time. Every hour gained was in favour of the authorities, as volunteers for defence were certain to pour into Toronto from all quarters as soon as it became known that their services were needed. The bearers of the flag of truce had a fruitless mission for their pains. They had no written authority to treat on behalf of the Government, and Mackenzie refused to deal with them until they could produce such authority. They accordingly returned to the city, and the insurgents advanced southward for a considerable distance. Near Gallows Hill they encountered Messieurs Baldwin and Rolph with a second flag of truce, but the only effect was a brief delay, as the Lieutenant-Governor had refused to ratify his embassy, and Mackenzie declined to negotiate in the absence of such ratification.

Dr. Rolph's share in this transaction is not easy to understand, nor is it easy to arrive at the absolute truth as to the facts, as the accounts are very contradictory. Mr. Mackenzie's biographer says:—"The truce being at an end, Dr. Rolph secretly advised the insurgents to wait till six o'clock, and then enter the city under cover of night." This account has generally been adopted by subsequent writers, and seems to be supported by the evidence of Samuel Lount, one of the unfortunate men who suffered the extreme penalty of the law for his share in the transactions of this period. The following is an extract from his statement made before a special Commission on the 13th of January, 1838, about three months before his execution:—"When the flag of truce came up, Dr. Rolph addressed himself to me. There were two other persons with it besides Dr. Rolph and Mr. Baldwin. Dr. Rolph said he brought a message from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, to prevent the effusion of blood, or to that effect. At the same time *he gave me a wink to walk on one side, when he requested me not to hear the message, but go on with our proceedings.* What he meant was, not to attend to the message. . . . *This was the first time the flag came up.*" Mr. Alves's statement is strongly confirmatory of this account. Dr. Rolph, on the other hand, both in public and in private, always denied that he gave any such counsel to the rebels until after the failure of his mission on the occasion of his second arrival with the flag of truce. He moreover repudiated all responsibility for changing the day agreed on for the descent upon Toronto. His

denials, too, were supported by written statements obtained from various witnesses. Still, it can hardly be said that his presentation of the case has ever been satisfactorily established, and it is improbable that any additional light will ever be thrown upon the matter.

The farce of rebellion did not last much longer. "The patriot forces," says Mr. Lindsey, "were a half-armed mob, without discipline, headed by civilians, and having no confidence in themselves or their military leaders." As Mackenzie and his forces continued to advance towards the city, they were fired upon by a dozen or more loyalists concealed behind a fence, and acting under the direction of Sheriff Jarvis. A panic occurred among the insurgents, most of whom flung down their arms and fled. Their leaders tried in vain to rally them. Many of them started for their respective homes, and the rest lost heart. They set fire to and burned the house of Dr. Horne, a loyalist, who lived on Yonge Street, not far from the toll-gate. Tuesday night and Wednesday were frittered away by the insurgents in discussion, and passed without any further encounter. On Thursday morning, Colonel Van Egmond, a gallant old French officer, who had formerly served under Napoleon, arrived at Mackenzie's camp. He had previously been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the insurgent forces, and now appeared, in pursuance of the original arrangement, to direct the descent upon Toronto. He did his utmost to repair the blunders which had been committed; but he appeared on the scene too late. Strong reinforcements had reached Toronto by steamers from Hamilton and elsewhere, and the city was impregnable against any force which the rebels could now bring against it. Van Egmond, however, went energetically to work. He tried to effect a diversion and a division of the loyalists by detaching a small force eastward to destroy the Don bridge, whereby communication with the city from the east would be cut off. This force fired the bridge and captured the Montreal mails, but effected nothing to the purpose, and was soon dispersed. Meanwhile, the loyal volunteers, to the number of nearly a thousand, assembled under the direction of Colonel Fitz Gibbon. The main body, under Colonel (afterwards Sir Allan) MacNab, advanced northward towards the camp of the rebels, the right and left wings being respectively commanded by Colonels Chisholm and Jarvis. There were also two guns, under the charge of a major of the militia artillery. The number of the insurgents had by this time shrunk considerably, and it was not to be expected that they could offer any effective resistance. Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, the opposing forces came into contact. The rebels were soon put to flight. Our histories gravely record that thirty-six of them were killed

during the encounter. As matter of fact, only one was killed on the field, though two more subsequently died from their wounds. Not a single loyalist was slain. Such was the "battle of Montgomery's Farm."

Mr. Samuel Thompson, author of the recently published volume entitled "Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer," had taken up his abode in Toronto only a few weeks before the breaking out of the rebellion. His account of the excitement produced in the city by the news of Mackenzie's contemplated attack is worth quoting, as the testimony of an eye-witness. He says :—

"On Sunday, the 3rd [*i.e.*, of December], we heard that armed men were assembled at the Holland Landing and Newmarket to attack the city, and that lists of houses to be burned by them were in the hands of their leaders; that Samuel Lount, blacksmith, had been manufacturing pikes at the Landing for their use; that two or three persons had been warned by friends in the secret to sell their houses, or to leave the city, or to look for startling changes of some sort. Then it was known that a quantity of arms and a couple of cannon were being brought from the garrison, and stored in the covered way under the old City Hall. Every idle report was eagerly caught up, and magnified a hundred-fold. But the burden of all invariably was an expected invasion by the Yankees to drive all loyalists from Canada. In this way rumour followed rumour, all business ceased, and everybody listened anxiously for the next alarm. At length it came in earnest. At 11 o'clock on Monday night, December 4th, every bell in the city was set ringing, occasional gun-shots were fired, by accident as it turned out, but none the less startling to nervous people; a confused murmur arose in the streets, becoming louder every minute; presently the sound of a horse's hoofs was heard, echoing loudly along Yonge street. With others I hurried out, and found at Ridout's corner [*i.e.*, the corner of King and Yonge street], a horseman, who proved to be Alderman John Powell, who told his breathless listeners how he had been stopped beyond the Yonge street toll-gate, two miles out, by Mackenzie and Anderson, at the head of a number of rebels in arms; how he had shot Anderson and missed Mackenzie; how he had dodged behind a log when pursued, and had finally got into town by the college avenue. There was but little sleep in Toronto that night, and next day everything was uproar and excitement, heightened by the news that Colonel Moodie, of Richmond Hill, a retired officer of the army, who was determined to force his way through the armed bodies of rebels to bring tidings of the rising to the Government in Toronto, had been shot down and inhumanly left to bleed to death at Montgomery's tavern. The flames

and smoke from Dr. Horne's house at Rosedale were visible all over the city; it had been fired in the presence of Mackenzie in person, in retaliation, it was said, for the refusal of discount by the Bank of Upper Canada, of which Dr. Horne was teller. The ruins of the still burning building were visited by hundreds of citizens, and added greatly to the excitement and exasperation of the hour. By and by it became known that Mr. Robert Baldwin and Dr. John Rolph had been sent, with a flag of truce, to learn the wants of the insurgents. Many citizens accompanied the party at a little distance. A flag of truce was in itself a delightful novelty, and the street urchins cheered vociferously, scudding away at the smallest alarm. Arrived at the toll-gate, there were waiting outside Mackenzie, Lount, Gibson, Fletcher and other leaders, with a couple of hundred of their men. In reply to the Lieutenant-Governor's message of inquiry as to what was wanted, the answer was, 'Independence, and a convention to arrange details,' which rather compendious demand, being reported to Sir Francis, was at once rejected. So there was nothing for it but to fight. Mackenzie did his best to induce his men to advance on the city that evening; but as most of his followers had been led to expect that there would be no resistance and no bloodshed, they were shocked and discouraged by Colonel Moodie's death, as well as by those of Anderson and one or two others. A picket of volunteers under Colonel Jarvis fired on them when not far within the toll-gate, killing one and wounding two others, and retired still firing. After this the insurgents lost all confidence, and even threatened to shoot Mackenzie himself for reproaching them with cowardice. A farmer living by the roadside told me at the time that while a detachment of rebels were marching southward down the hill, since known as Mount Pleasant, they saw a waggon load of cordwood standing on the opposite rise, and supposing it to be a piece of artillery loaded to the muzzle with grape or canister, these brave warriors leaped the fences right and left like squirrels, and could by no effort of their officers be induced again to advance. By this time the principal buildings in the city—the City Hall, Upper Canada Bank, the Parliament Buildings, Osgoode Hall, Government House, the Canada Company's office, and many private dwellings and shops, were put in a state of defense by barricading the windows and doors with two-inch plank, loop-holed for musketry; and the city bore a rather formidable appearance. Arms and ammunition were distributed to all householders who chose to accept them. . . . The same evening came Mr. Speaker MacNab, with a steamer from Hamilton, bringing sixty of the 'Men of Gore.' It was an inspiring thing to see these fine fellows land on the

wharf, bright and fresh from their short voyage, and full of zeal and loyalty. The ringing cheers they sent forth were re-echoed with interest by the townsmen."

Rebellion had broken out in the Lower Province several weeks before this time, and as almost the entire body of the French Canadian people sympathised with the movement, the quelling of it proved a much more serious matter than in Upper Canada. Here, although there was widespread dissatisfaction, the people generally were loyal, and only a very small minority were ripe for rebellion. There was a pretence of armed resistance for a short time, first in the London District, and afterwards on Navy Island, and at two or three points along the frontier, but it was a pretence rather than a reality, and there was no possibility of success for the rebel arms, assisted though they were by filibustering adventurers belonging to the adjoining republic. With these operations the present work has no further concern. It may be said that with the affair at Montgomery's Farm, Toronto's share in the insurrection was at an end. Mackenzie and Rolph fled to the United States. Some of the less conspicuous leaders of the movement were captured before they could escape. Many prisoners were taken, and during the ensuing winter the jails were crowded. Some of these were ultimately permitted to depart for their homes without trial, but most of them were tried and sentenced to punishments of greater or less severity. A few were sentenced to death, but, with two noteworthy exceptions, these capital sentences were commuted to imprisonment in the penitentiary at Kingston. The exceptions were the unfortunate Lount and Matthews, who were doomed to suffer death at the hands of the law. A gentle commiseration has ever since been felt for their fate, for they were certainly less culpable than others who suffered no legal punishment at all, and they appear to have been men of kindly disposition and high personal character.* They both left large families behind them, who underwent great physical as well as mental suffering from being thus deprived of their stay and support. In these cases clemency would have well become those whose prerogative it was to exercise it. "There was indeed," says Mr. Lindsey, "no question about their guilt," but "the general impression to-day is that the execution of these men was a judicial murder."

The execution of Lount and Matthews took place on the 12th of April, 1838, in front of the jail, near the present junction of Toronto and Court

* "Requiescas in pace, Lount!" says Sir Richard Bonnycastle, "for many a villain yet lives, to whose vile advices you owed your untimely end, and who ought to have met with your fate instead of you."—*Canada and the Canadians in 1846*, vol. I., p. 189.

Streets. The spectacle is described by "General" Edward Alexander Theller, an Irish American who had taken a leading part in a filibustering expedition against Amherstburg in the preceding January, and who had been captured by the militia. He was confined in jail, first at London, and afterwards at Toronto, whence he was transferred to Quebec. He finally made his escape, and wrote an account of his adventures, under the title of "Canada in 1837-38." It was during his imprisonment in Toronto that he beheld, from his cell window, the execution of Lount and Matthews. "Lingering at that window," he writes, "from which it was our fate to witness the execution, and momentarily anticipating their appearance on the scaffold, we were surprised by a knock at the door, and by the voice of Lount calling upon me. . . . On hearing his manly voice, clear and unruffled, I dared to think for a moment he was respite. How vain and fleeting the illusion! His chains had been knocked off to dress him for the scaffold, and he had made the excuse to afford him an opportunity to give us the last salutation—the dying *Vale!* He appeared firm, and perfectly prepared for his doom, saying that this would be our last interview: that he was then going out to meet his fate: exhorted me to be prepared, as he had learned officially that after himself and Matthews I was to be the next and only other victim: desired me to communicate the information to the others, in order to relieve their minds from the horrors of suspense; and then, requesting us to look at him through the window when he should ascend the scaffold, bid us farewell forever. As he passed through the hall, he called at the doors of the other rooms, until obliged by the turnkey to descend. A few minutes afterwards we saw him and Matthews walk out with the white cap upon their heads, and their arms pinioned, preceded by the sheriff and his deputy, dressed in their official robes, and with drawn swords, followed by two clergymen and a few of our prison guard. On arriving at the fatal spot, although the steps were seven or eight, and the ascent almost perpendicular, they mounted the stage without the least faltering: Lount first, followed by the sheriff; then Matthews and the deputy, Mr. Baird. Some have remarked they thought Matthews did not ascend with the firmness displayed by his fellow-sufferer; but they do his memory injustice, for I was looking upon the motions of both with intense anxiety, to see whether each disgraced his name, or the cause in which he had forfeited life, and there was not, to my vision, the slightest trepidation. Lount looked up and bowed to us; then kneeling upon the trap underneath one of the nooses, the cord was placed about their necks by the executioner, and the cap pulled over their faces. One of the clergymen, Mr. Richard-

son,* made a prayer—the signal was given by the sheriff, and in an instant after these two heroic souls, the first martyrs to Canadian liberty, were ushered into eternity."

To refer to Lount and Matthews as "the first martyrs to Canadian liberty" is of course absurd and one-sided. It is nevertheless true that their execution was a cruel, harsh, and altogether unnecessary proceeding. There remains lie in the Necropolis, beneath a plain slab of stone bearing the simple inscription:—

SAMUEL LOUNT.

PETER MATTHEWS.

While ignominy and suffering attended upon those who had taken part in the insurrection, a corresponding share of honour accrued to some of those who had been active in suppressing it. Conspicuous among the latter was Alderman John Powell. By shooting Anderson he had probably saved the city from at least temporarily falling into the hands of the rebels. Anderson was a man of great energy and resource, upon whom his fellow-conspirators placed great reliance. Of all those assembled at Montgomery's on the night of Monday, the 4th of December, he only, it was said, was capable of taking the command in an advance upon the city. It seems probable that such an advance would have been made, if his life had been spared, not later than Tuesday morning. Moreover, he was not only a serious loss to the rebels in respect of his personal qualifications, but his death seems to have cast a chill upon them, paralyzing their energies, if not their courage. Alderman Powell therefore rendered very efficient aid to his loyal fellow-citizens when he sent Anderson to his last account. The act tended to very greatly increase his popularity, and at the ensuing municipal elections he was again returned for St. Andrew's Ward, to be immediately afterwards installed as Mayor-elect. He occupied the Chief Magistrate's chair for three years; namely, in 1838, 1839, and 1840.

* This was the Rev. James Richardson, afterwards Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, and father of Dr. J. H. Richardson, now of Toronto.

CHAPTER III.

SIR GEORGE ARTHUR.—TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF DR. MORRISON.—LORD DURHAM IN TORONTO.—THE HON. C. P. THOMSON, AFTERWARDS LORD SYDENHAM.—TORONTO NO LONGER A CAPITAL.—MUNICIPAL CHANGES.—MR. BROWN AND THE “GLOBE” NEWSPAPER.—SIR RICHARD BONNYCASTLE IN TORONTO.

IR FRANCIS BOND HEAD had not been long in Canada before the Home Office discovered that a great mistake had been committed in sending him here. It was however not easy to find any one both able and willing to succeed him, and he was permitted to try his amateur hand at Colonial Government until he had not only precipitated an insurrection, but had likewise involved the country in what threatened to be serious complications with the United States. The mare having been stolen, the Imperial authorities then cautiously proceeded to lock the stable-door. Sir Francis was permitted to resign office, and in March, 1838, Sir George Arthur succeeded to the administration of Upper Canadian affairs.

Sir George has not left a strong impress upon our domestic affairs, and does not seem to have possessed any very marked individuality. He had had some military experience, and had successively administered the Governments of British Honduras and Van Dieman's Land. He arrived at New York in the packet-ship *Samson*, on the 8th of March, and after a brief rest proceeded on his way to Toronto, where he took the oaths of office and assumed the reins of Government on Friday, the 23rd. At five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, Sir Francis Head left Toronto by the steamer *Transit* for Kingston, *en route* for England, by way of New York. On the 29th of the same month, as we learn from the papers of the day, the “Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty” of the City of Toronto presented a congratulatory address to the new Lieutenant-Governor. His Excellency's reply was conceived in an admirable spirit. It referred to the recent outbreak, commended the loyalty of the citizens, and foreshadowed a policy of conciliation and forgiveness. “Your address,” said his Excellency, “is the more particularly gratifying to me at this moment, as by a full knowledge of, and confidence in, its power, the Executive

MAYORS



Joseph L. Jackson 1871

Alexander Flannigan
1873



James Morrison
1877-78



James Beatz J.D. C.I.C.
1879-80



W. Barclay McMurrich, M.A. 1881-82

Government is more at liberty, where justice does not absolutely forbid it, to unfurl the banner of mercy. Harshness and severity are distinguishing marks of weakness and apprehension. The country is strong enough to be magnanimous; and as the inhabitants of Upper Canada have the reputation of being a religious people, it will now be open to them, both collectively and individually, to give proof of their Christian professions by forgiving, without any vexatious upbraiding, the extreme injuries they have received.

"The quality of mercy is not strained :
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath. It is twice blessed :
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes.
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest."

"If the great victory which has been achieved is now wisely used with moderation and well-timed conciliation, the late seeming frown of Providence upon this noble Province may issue in a very great blessing: for I do not despair of seeing many persons now come forward, openly and avowedly, as loyal supporters of the Constitution, who, although hitherto advocates for some partial change in the institutions of the country, nevertheless would be desirous to make the most public declaration of their detestation of traitors, and murderers, and incendiaries, and thus you may become a more united, and therefore a more happy people." Notwithstanding these admirable sentiments, Lount and Matthews, as has been seen, were hanged on that day fortnight, although the wife of Lount, on the day preceding that appointed for the execution, presented to his Excellency a petition signed by 30,000 inhabitants, praying for a reprieve or commutation of the sentence.

No good purpose is to be served at this day by dwelling upon the trials of the numerous prisoners who were confined in the Toronto jail. As, however, Dr. Morrison has already figured in these pages as Mayor of the city, it may as well be mentioned that he was arrested immediately after the affair at Montgomery's for complicity in the rebellion: that after being kept more than four months in jail he was tried for high treason, on Wednesday, the 25th of April (1838). The prosecution was conducted by Attorney-General Hagerman, Robert Baldwin and two other counsel appearing for the defence. There was no credible evidence to connect the accused with the outbreak, while, on the other hand, he established a conclusive *alibi*. He was accordingly acquitted. He continued to reside in Toronto for many years subsequent to this event, and is still borne in pleasant remembrance by many persons among us.

About this time were heard the first serious suggestions as to the propriety of removing the seat of Government from Toronto to Kingston. The suggestions, of course, emanated from the inhabitants of Kingston, and were strenuously opposed by Torontonians. Sir John Falstaff once expressed his intention of turning his diseases to commodity. The Kingstonians, in—probably unconscious—imitation of the doughty knight's tactics, did their utmost to turn to their own account the diseases in the body politic. The recent insurrection at Toronto furnished them with a pretext, and they began to agitate for a removal of the seat of Government to Kingston, upon the ground that there were permanent fortifications there, and that rebellion would never have an opportunity of making any headway in that neighbourhood. The Kingston *Chronicle* was especially vehement in its advocacy, and as the subject gave rise to much public discussion, the Toronto press awoke to the gravity of the occasion. The *Commercial Herald*, a semi-weekly paper published by Messrs. Haekstaff & Rogers, "at their office on Church Street, three doors from Richmond Street," had a succession of vigorous articles on the subject, one of the most characteristic of which appeared in the number for Monday, April 9th. "The ground upon which they recommend this change," said the *Herald*, "is the greater security Kingston can afford in times of danger. That the fortifications and the position of that town are superior to those of Toronto we admit, but that the seat of Government would be *safér* there, we deny. Have not the people of Toronto, during late events, proved their ability to defend the capital? Is not our situation here better than the situation of Kingston for availing ourselves of the assistance of the loyal 'Men of Gore,' the 'Cavan Boys,' and many others? Is not Toronto more central, therefore better suited for headquarters than any other town in the Province? The people of Sandwich are already too far distant from the capital, and it is more than probable that civilization and population in the west in a few more years will double the number of the east. Therefore, if the seat of Government were to be removed, it should rather be westward than eastward. There are some very fine situations on Burlington Heights for fortifications. As a temporary measure, a removal of the Government would be unwise. When there, the erection or hire of buildings would cost a considerable sum. The buildings already provided here, at a great expense, would remain useless and untenanted. The expense of returning to Toronto; the disarrangement of the affairs of individuals to an immense extent; the fluctuations such an event would cause in the business of those who have built houses and purchased property at a high price because Toronto

is the seat of Government, would be ruinous, and the sufferers would have a just cause for complaint if such a step were taken. It cannot, it must not be removed. The idea of increased security to be obtained in Kingston is merely theoretical. Prudent measures are better than embattled walls, and loyal hearts can render the weakest place strong enough." The discussion of this subject never wholly ceased until the removal had become an accomplished fact.

Early in this year (1838) it had become known in Canada that the rebellion in the two Provinces had at last aroused the Imperial Government to the necessity of dealing with the Canadian problem, and that Lord Durham was the statesman who had been appointed to solve it. He reached Quebec towards the end of May, and spent the next five months in acquiring a knowledge of the difficulties with which he had to deal. He arrived in Toronto by the steamer *Cobourg*, on Wednesday, the 17th of July, accompanied by Lady Durham, the Hon. Mrs. Grey, the Hon. Miss Lambton, Sir John Colborne, and a suite large enough to swell the train of an emperor. Great preparations had been made for the reception, and his Excellency stepped ashore from the steamer at the Queen's Wharf under a salute of nineteen guns from the garrison. The streets in the neighbourhood of the landing-place were lined with troops and citizens, who had previously been marshalled in procession. Music was furnished by the bands of the 85th Regiment and the City Guards. A tolerably full account of the reception may be found in the *Patriot* of Friday, the 19th, from which it appears that—"On arriving at the end of the wharf, his Lordship and Countess and ladies of his party, with Sir John Colborne, mounted carriages in waiting, and proceeded through a lane of military formed of the gallant soldiers of the 85th Regiment, reaching from the Queen's Wharf to the gates of the Parliament House, which the procession entered amid the cheering acclamations of ten thousand spectators. On the ample arena surmounting the steps leading to the Parliament House, his Lordship, with his Excellency Sir George Arthur on his right, the veteran Sir John Colborne on his left, and on either hand his gallant suite, in splendid military costumes," received and replied to an Address from the Mayor and Corporation of the City. "Imposing as was this brilliant spectacle," continues the rhetorical journalist of the period—"and surely a more magnificent sight we never beheld, for it presented to our corporeal eye, embodied in full life, the most splendid pageant described with all the glowing fervour of the inimitable Sir Walter Scott—it would have made but little impression upon us, could not our mental perception have penetrated through the

long vista of its concomitants. From this auspicious event may Upper Canada date the incipiency of her moral and political consequence. From this date henceforth she will be recognised by Great Britain as the western rampart of her extended empire, the watch-tower of her Conservative institutions, and the impregnable outwork of civil and religious liberty."

Lord Durham's stay in Toronto extended over only about twenty-four hours. He arrived about five o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 17th, and left at the same hour on Thursday, the 18th, by the *Cobourg*. During his brief stay he gave no evidence of that petulance, begotten of weak health, which had by this time come to be recognised as one of his characteristics. On the contrary, he appears to have charmed all who came within the circle of his influence. The newspapers of the time vie with each other in paying tributes to his frankness and uniform good humour. He seems to have entirely won the heart of the editor of the *Patriot*, who thus refers to his Lordship's departure from the city:—"A vast concourse of persons assembled, with their banners, to accompany him to the wharf. A terrific thunder-storm came on at the moment, but he kindly waited till its close, as the Mayor and the members of the various societies had screened themselves on board the steamer from the deluge of rain which fell. At length the boat moved from its moorings; the cheers of the throng again rent the heavens; another salute was fired from the garrison, and thus this distinguished nobleman took his departure from this city, having delighted all classes who saw him, by his affability, courtesy, and kindness." It was indeed a remarkable exhibition of complaisance on the part of his Lordship that he waited until the rain was over, instead of steaming away with "the Mayor and the members of the various societies" on board.

Lord Durham's mission forms a most important episode in the history of this Canada of ours, and, as will presently appear, it was fraught with specially weighty consequences to Toronto. In the course of the succeeding autumn his Lordship, for well-known reasons, resigned his high office, and departed for England; leaving the direction of affairs in the hands of Sir John Colborne. His famous "Report" paved the way for a Union of the Canadas, a scheme which the Imperial authorities determined to adopt. The Right Hon. Charles Poulett Thomson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, was despatched to Canada as Governor-General, to carry out the recommendations of the prescient and far-seeing statesman who had preceded him, and who was rapidly being tortured into an early grave. He reached Canada on the 17th of October, 1838. Having gained the assent of the

Special Council of Lower Canada to his plans, he proceeded to Toronto to obtain the assent of the Upper Canadian Legislature. He reached his destination on the 21st of November. On the following day he assumed the functions of Governor, and received congratulatory addresses from the Corporation and the Board of Trade. Sir George Arthur's functions seem to have been for the time in abeyance.

The two parties in the Province did not well know in what spirit to receive and accept the new Governor. He had been a Whig in politics, and this made the Conservatives suspicious of him. The Reformers were disposed to regard him favourably, but they were very much in the dark as to his plans, and their party had been so crushed and maimed by the rebellion that there was no proper coherence or organization among them. They were excluded from all offices, and sneered at as disloyal. The worst possible feeling prevailed between them and their opponents. Robert Baldwin and the better class of Reformers kept aloof from public life, and waited for better times. Such was the state of affairs when the Governor reached Toronto. He found, however, that a considerable proportion of the people generally, irrespective of party politics, were favourable to Responsible Government. The Assembly had passed resolutions in its favour, and were prepared to cordially co-operate with his Excellency to bring about a union of the Provinces. Very different was the prevailing sentiment in the Upper House, which was largely composed of the old, ultra-Tory Family Compact party. But even here the difficulty was got over by the astute Mr. Thomson. The Tories plumed themselves upon their loyalty. The scheme of union was placed before them as the will of the Imperial Government. They were sagacious enough to perceive that that scheme had been definitely determined upon, and that no opposition on their part would be allowed to permanently interfere with it. Parliament was called together on the 3rd of December, and before the year was out resolutions in favour of union had been passed by both Houses. A Union Act was speedily passed by the Imperial Parliament, to come into operation by virtue of a royal proclamation. The proclamation was made on the 5th of February, 1841, whereby it was declared that the Union should take effect from the 10th of that month. Accordingly, on the last named date the Union of the Provinces became an accomplished fact.

It will readily be supposed that Toronto was not an indifferent spectator of these events. The Union of the Provinces involved the doing away with local Provincial capitals, and Toronto was not sufficiently central to be suited for the general capital of the United Provinces. Such would

certainly be the view taken by the people of Lower Canada, whom it was desirable for the Governor-General to conciliate. The inhabitants of Toronto were naturally opposed to any scheme which bade fair to deprive their municipality of much of its importance; but they were compelled to submit to the inevitable, and they did so with the best grace they could assume. The Upper Canadian Assembly obtained his Excellency's undertaking that the capital should be placed in Upper Canada. As everybody knows, Kingston was the spot chosen. With the consummation of the Union, on the 10th of February, 1841, Toronto ceased to be a metropolitan city, and Sir George Arthur's functions came to an end. The last session of the Upper Canadian Parliament was opened at Toronto on the 3rd of December, 1839, and closed on the 10th of February, 1840, precisely a year before the coming into operation of the Act of Union.

When it became known that Kingston was to be the capital of the United Provinces, and that Toronto was to be shorn of the metropolitan glory which she had enjoyed for nearly half a century, there were loud outpourings of discontent and foreboding. It was feared that Toronto's prosperity would receive a grievous check, and that her pre-eminence among the towns of Upper Canada could no longer be maintained. Some of the local merchants contemplated removing their stocks to Kingston, and local owners of real estate expected a serious fall in lands and rents. All such fears proved groundless. The city had passed the turning-point, and her prosperity was not to be seriously retarded by anything less than Provincial calamity. During the seven years which had elapsed since her incorporation she had gone far towards doubling her population. In the beginning of 1834 the population of the city had been rather under 9,000. In 1841 it was slightly in excess of 15,000. So far from there being any abatement in her commercial prosperity, trade was more than usually brisk, and the value of real estate continued steadily to increase. It soon became evident to all minds that, let the Legislature meet wheresoever it would, Toronto was to be the commercial capital of Western Canada; and the indications of those times have been amply fulfilled.

The first general election under the Union was marked by riotous and stormy scenes in several parts of the Province. Nowhere was the excitement greater than in Toronto, where the Honourable John Henry Dunn, Receiver-General, and Mr. Isaac Buchanan were the successful candidates. Blood was shed in the streets, and it became necessary to engage the services of the military before complete order was restored. The good name of Toronto was temporarily imperilled on this occasion by the disgraceful conduct of certain heated partizans, who did not in the least represent

the consensus of public opinion. The Union, however, settled many vexed questions which had long been fruitful sources of public and private disquiet, and for some time afterwards our streets remained undisturbed by any repetition of the violent scenes which characterized the famous Dunn and Buchanan election.

The next eight years were comparatively uneventful in the city's history, and may be very briefly passed over. In the interval she passed through two periods of great commercial depression, and also suffered considerably from fires; yet her population and mercantile importance grew steadily year by year, and the aspect of the streets became less and less primitive, so that there was but little in common between the Toronto of 1849 and the York of 1834. The Mayor's chair had meanwhile been filled by several different representatives. Mr. Powell, as has been seen, was Mayor for 1838, 1839, and 1840. He was succeeded by Mr. George Monro in 1841; and during the next three years—1842, 1843 and 1844—the municipal chair of state was occupied by the Hon. Henry Sherwood. William Henry Boulton succeeded in 1845, 1846 and 1847, and George Gurnett in 1848, 1849 and 1850. Mr. Gurnett has already been introduced to the reader. Mr. Monro was long a leading merchant and prominent citizen, and represented the Third Riding of York in the Second Canadian Parliament, from November, 1844, to December, 1847. Mr. Sherwood was still more distinguished, being an eminent lawyer of brilliant abilities, who sat in Parliament for the City of Toronto for many years, and was for some time Solicitor-General for Upper Canada. Mr. Boulton, also a well-known personage in his day, was for some years Mr. Sherwood's colleague in the representation of Toronto in Parliament.

In 1840 the first attempt was made to light the streets of Toronto with gas. During the previous year a committee, composed jointly of citizens and members of the Council, had been appointed to report upon the feasibility of lighting up the principal business portion of the city. The committee reported, recommending that application for information should be made to the conductors of the Montreal Gas Works Company. The Council acted upon this recommendation, and sent Mr. Cull, a civil engineer, to Montreal, where much practical information was obtained from Mr. Albert Furniss, a gentleman largely interested in the gas works in that city. Mr. Furniss, after consideration, offered to supply the illumination required in Toronto for £7,500. Other tenders were received from several persons. A public meeting was called, at which Mr. Furniss attended by special invitation. He entered into a full explanation of the necessary details, and created a very favourable impression upon the

audience. The final result was the erection of gas works by a private company, of which Mr. Furniss was the most active member, on land granted by the Corporation in the eastern part of the city. The works were soon in operation. The illumination furnished in 1840 was partial and experimental only. In the following year the company was incorporated under the style of "The Toronto Gas Light and Water Company," and thenceforth undertook the duty of furnishing the citizens with water as well as light. From Mr. G. P. Ure's "Handbook of Toronto," published in 1858, it appears that in the year 1845 an agreement was made between the company and the City Corporation for a term of twenty-one years, the former undertaking to light the streets at £6 13s. 4d. a light, and to bear the expense of erecting and maintaining the lamps. The company at first started with twelve lamps. In 1847 Mr. Furniss, who had meanwhile become sole proprietor of the works, sold them to a joint stock company—the Consumers' Gas Company—under whose auspices they have ever since been carried on. It is said that the first year the works were established the quantity of gas manufactured was less than 4,000,000 feet. The quantity now manufactured is nearly sixty times as great. There are at present about 110 miles of main pipes in the city, devoted to 5,600 consumers and 2,540 public and private lamps. In 1848 the price charged to consumers was five dollars per thousand cubic feet. The present price is from \$1.25 to \$1.60.

The founding of the *Globe* newspaper belongs to this period, and is an event of sufficient importance to be chronicled in a sketch, however brief, of the history of the City of Toronto. The first number made its appearance on Tuesday, the 5th of March, 1844. Its founder, Mr. George Brown, who was destined to become one of the most widely-known men in Canadian public life, was then a young man of twenty-five years of age. He, with his father and other members of his family, had emigrated from Edinburgh to New York some years before. In 1843 they removed to Toronto, where father and son established the *Banner*, a weekly paper which, though professedly secular in its character, nevertheless advocated the cause of the Free Church party in Canada. Its scope was too confined to meet the views of its directors, who felt strongly on political questions, and espoused the side of Messieurs Lafontaine and Baldwin and their colleagues in their memorable struggle with Sir Charles Metcalfe. The result of this combination of circumstances was the founding of the *Globe*, in the interests of the Reform party. The paper made itself felt from the date of its first issue, and obtained what in those days was regarded as a considerable circulation. It was conducted as

a weekly broadsheet for about two years, after which it appeared twice a week. In 1849 it began to appear tri-weekly as well as weekly, and it was not till October, 1853, that it made its appearance as a daily journal. Irrespective of its political opinions, the *Globe* has for forty years been recognized as the leading newspaper of Canada, and no man who has not studied its columns can justly lay claim to an intimate acquaintance with the history of this country.

Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, in his "Canada and the Canadians in 1846," gives us more than one glimpse of the appearance of Toronto during the interval now under consideration. He arrived in the city by steamer on the 27th of June, 1845. "On steaming up the harbour," he writes, "I was greatly surprised and very much pleased to see such an alteration as Toronto has undergone for the better since 1837. Then, although a flourishing village, be-citied, to be sure, it was not one-third of its present size. Now it is a city in earnest, with upwards of 20,000 inhabitants—gas-lit, with good plank sidewalks and macadamized streets, with vast sewers and fine houses of brick or stone. The main street, King Street, is two miles and more in length, and would not do shame to any town, and has a much more English look than most Canadian places have." Upon reaching the wharf, he seems to have been sorely beset by the solicitations of the carters. "At Kingston," he remarks, "matters are pretty well arranged, and the carters are not so very impudent, and so ready to push you over the wharf; but at Toronto they are very so-so, and want regulating by the police." We are also favoured by Sir Richard with a glimpse of the northern suburbs, as they appeared thirty-nine years ago. All old residents of Toronto will remember what was known as the Blue Hill, an eminence which has since been very much cut down and shorn of its old-time proportions. It was about a hundred yards north of the old toll-gate, which, it will be remembered, stood nearly opposite the present site of Severn's brewery, a few feet to the north of the spot where the Davenport Road diverges from Yonge Street. The clay of the Blue Hill, it appears, was then, as now, used for brickmaking purposes. "Near Toronto," writes Sir Richard, "at Blue Hill, large brick yards are in operation, and here white brick is now made, of which a handsome specimen of church architecture has been lately erected in the west end of the city." This was St. George's Church, erected in 1844. "Tiles," he adds, "elsewhere not seen in Canada, are also manufactured near Blue Hill; but they are not extensively used, the snow and high winds being unfavourable to their adoption, shingles or split wood being cheaper, and tinned iron plates more durable, and less liable to accident."

In 1846 a local topographer was able to write as follows:—"The improvements made in the City of Toronto within the last two years have been astonishing. Many new buildings (and those the handsomest in the city) have been erected; and the sidewalks, several of which were in a very dilapidated state, and some almost impassable, have been re-laid and much improved. Toronto now contains ninety-two streets, the planked portion of King Street being about two miles long. The extreme length of the city, from the Don bridge to the western limits, is upwards of three miles. Property which was purchased a few years since for a mere trifle has increased wonderfully in value, and many houses on King Street pay a ground-rent of \$500. Rents are generally as high as in the best business situations in London, England, and some houses in good situations for business let at from \$1,000 to \$1,250 per annum. There are within the city twenty-one churches and chapels, and ten newspapers—the *British Canadian, Herald, Patriot, Colonist, Examiner, Christian Guardian, Star, Mirror, Banner, and Globe*. The following monthly periodicals are also published here:—the *Upper Canada Jurist, British American Cultivator, and Sunday-School Guardian*. The city is lighted with gas, and there are water-works for the conveyance of water from the bay to the different houses; and there are also in the city regular stages for coaches and hacks. Steamboats leave daily for Kingston, Hamilton, Niagara, Queenston, Lewiston, and Rochester, calling at Port Hope and Cobourg. Omnibuses have been established to run regularly to Richmond Hill, Thornhill, Cooksville, and Streetsville, and every hour from the market-place to Yorkville. A horse ferry-boat plies during the day between the city and the opposite island; and there are fifteen common schools in operation."

Numerous other extracts might be cited from the works of various travellers, illustrative of the appearance and material condition of Toronto from 1840 to 1850, but the reader who has attentively followed the narrative thus far, and who cares enough about the matter to take the trouble, will have no difficulty in forming in his mind's eye something approaching to an accurate picture of the city as it appeared thirty to forty years since.

Various important changes had meanwhile taken place in the government of the country at large. Lord Sydenham met with an untimely death at Kingston in September, 1841. He was succeeded by Sir Charles Bagot, who survived his appointment only about nineteen months, and died at Kingston on the 19th of May, 1843. Sir Charles Metcalfe (afterwards Baron Metcalfe of Fern Hill), succeeded, and held office until November,

1845, when he returned to England to die. Earl Catheart, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, administered the Government after Lord Metcalfe's departure, and in the following March was appointed Governor-General, which office he retained until the accession of Lord Elgin in January, 1847. The triumph of Kingston over Toronto was short-lived. She enjoyed for only three years the distinction of being the Canadian capital, after which the seat of Government was removed thence to Montreal. From the very first, Kingston, by reason of her small size and other disadvantages, was found to be unsuited to the dignity wherewith she had been invested, and an agitation to remove the Government therefrom was set on foot during the first session of the First Parliament of United Canada. The French members energetically pressed the claims of Montreal, which was the chief city of Canada in commerce, population and wealth. Per contra, Lord Sydenham's pledge that the capital should be in Upper Canada was urged upon the attention of Parliament. Lord Sydenham's pledge, however, could not be permitted to perpetually stand in the way of the public convenience, and Montreal was in many respects better suited than any other city to be the capital of the Provinces. Accordingly, after the subject had been discussed during three sessions, Montreal was fixed upon as the permanent seat of Government. The public offices were removed thither soon after the opening of navigation in the spring of 1844, and the Governor-General, Sir Charles Metcalfe, followed in the course of the ensuing summer. As will hereafter be recorded, Montreal's tenure of metropolitan pre-eminence was destined to be not much more durable than that of Kingston had been.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREAT FIRE.—LAMENTABLE DEATH OF MR. RICHARD WATSON,
QUEEN'S PRINTER.—PESTILENCE.—THE MACKENZIE RIOT.—LORD
ELGIN'S VISIT.—TORONTO ONCE MORE A METROPOLIS.—ELMSLEY
VILLA.—MUNICIPAL CHANGES.—TRANSFER OF THE GOVERNMENT
TO QUEBEC.—STATISTICS AND TOPOGRAPHY.

HE year 1849 was a momentous one in the history, not of Toronto alone, but of Canada. It was on the night of the 25th of April in that year that the Parliament Buildings at Montreal were destroyed by a mob, in consequence of the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill. Five days afterwards—on the 30th—the Governor General, Lord Elgin, was pelted with stones and addled eggs in the streets of Montreal. During the summer the Province was subjected to a visitation of Asiatic cholera. To that year also belongs the annexation movement, which was by no means confined to Montreal, though it found its strongest and most influential expression there. Those events belong to the general history of Canada, but they were all fraught with more or less direct consequences to Toronto. The burning of the Parliament Buildings and the public attack upon Lord Elgin led to the removal of the seat of Government hither from Montreal. Toronto suffered, in common with other large towns, from the cholera epidemic; and among our citizens were a few who sympathized with the project of annexation.

But Toronto, during the year 1849, was visited by calamities peculiarly her own. At no former period of her history was she called upon to suffer so many and such serious ravages from what newspaper reporters call "the devouring element." Fires of some magnitude occurred during January, February and March; but the most tremendous conflagration in the city's history occurred early on the morning of Saturday, the 7th of April. It was a small affair as compared with the holocausts in more recent times at Chicago and Boston, but it was of sufficient magnitude to be regarded as a blow to Toronto's prosperity, and it involved a loss of more than half a million dollars. There seems to have been an insufficient supply of water—a contingency of which our citizens have had

some experience during the current year. The fire broke out between one and two o'clock in the morning, in some outbuildings in the rear of a tavern near the corner of King and Nelson Streets. It rapidly spread to the main part of Nelson Street, on the east, consuming Post's Tavern and the *Patriot* office. "The fire," says a contemporary account, "extended from King Street to the south of Duke Street, where it consumed nearly all the back buildings and the office of the Savings Bank. It then crossed to the west side of Nelson Street to Rolf's tavern, destroying the whole block, including the *Mirror* office, to Mr. Nasmith's bakery. Proceeding from Rolf's tavern the flames laid hold of the corner building occupied by Mr. O'Donohue, which was speedily consumed, and then they ran along the whole block to Mr. O'Neill's, consuming the valuable stores of Messrs. Hayes, Harris, Cherry, O'Neill and others. About three o'clock the spire of St. James's Cathedral took fire, and the building was entirely destroyed. About the same time the flames broke out in the old City Hall, consuming the greater part of the front building, including Mr. McFarlane's small store. The fire then extended from the Cathedral across to the south side of King Street, where a fire had lately occurred. The shops of Mr. Rogers and others were with difficulty saved. All that block was in great danger; some of them had most of their goods removed, and great injury to property was sustained. About five o'clock the flames were in a great measure subdued. The exertions of the firemen were for a long time retarded for want of water. The soldiers of the rifle brigade from the garrison were extremely active, and deserve the highest gratitude of the citizens. The loss by this fire is estimated at the lowest computation to be £100,000 sterling. It is not easy to describe the gloom which this calamity has cast over the city, or the ruined appearance of the ground so lately occupied by many respectable and industrious individuals, who, by the work of four or five hours, were suddenly thrown out of business or seriously injured in their circumstances. In whatever light this serious event be regarded, it must be acknowledged as a heavy blow and sore discouragement to Toronto: the heaviest it has received. There cannot be a doubt, however, that the activity and enterprise of the inhabitants will soon surmount the loss. The season is favourable for rebuilding, and many improvements will doubtless be introduced in the formation of new streets."

This second destruction of St. James's, which had fallen a prey to the flames ten years before, was much felt by the congregation, not only in a pecuniary sense, but because many pleasant memories and time-honoured monuments were destroyed. Among other objects which fell a prey to

the flames was a clock in the belfry, which had been placed there at the expense of the Honourable William Henry Draper, upon his retirement from Parliamentary life several years before. Again, as in 1839, Dr. Strachan put forth the weight of his influence, and in process of time the main body of the present imposing cathedral arose upon the site of its predecessor. Service was first held in the new structure in 1853, though the belfry was not completed until 1867, and the spire and pinnacles were not erected until about seven years later.

Unhappily, there was not only loss of property but loss of life during the conflagration. Mr. Richard Watson, Queen's Printer, in attempting to save his plant from destruction, perished in the flames. A number of other serious casualties occurred, but poor Watson's was the only life lost. He was a man of many generous impulses, and was deeply mourned by a wide circle of friends. "He was," says Mr. Samuel Thompson,* who knew him well, "at the head of the profession, universally liked, and always foremost on occasions of danger and necessity. He had persisted, in spite of all remonstrance, in carrying cases of type down the long three-story staircase, and was forgotten for a while. Being speedily missed, however, cries were frantically raised for ladders to the south windows, and our brave friend Colonel O'Brien was the first to climb to the third story, dash in the window-sash—using his hat as a weapon, but not escaping severe cuts from the broken glass—and shout to the prisoner within. But in vain. No person could be seen, and the smoke and flames, forcing their way at that moment through the front windows, rendered all efforts at rescue futile. . . . Next morning there was a general cry to recover the remains of poor Watson. The brick walls of our office had fallen in, and the heat of the burning mass in the cellar was that of a vast furnace. But nothing checked the zeal of the men, all of whom knew and liked him. Still hissing hot, the burnt masses were gradually cleared away, and after long hours of labour an incinerated skeleton was found, and restored to his mourning family for interment, with funeral obsequies which were attended by nearly all the citizens."

Scarcely had the excitement consequent on the great fire quieted down ere the city was subjected to a still more appalling visitation. With the opening of navigation a strong tide of immigration to Canada from Europe set in, and the immigrants brought with them disease and death to our shores; first in the shape of a peculiarly malignant form of ship fever, and afterwards in the still more direful shape of cholera. The march of the pestilence was steadily westward from Quebec to Montreal,

* See *Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer*, pp. 240, 242.

from Montreal to Kingston, from Kingston to Toronto, thence to Hamilton, and so on to the western confines of the Province, and beyond. The first case of cholera at Toronto was reported towards the end of June, and the number of cases reported within the ensuing month was 162, whereof 107 terminated fatally. The Mayor and Council bestirred themselves to grapple with this much dreaded visitation. A special Board of Health was appointed, and approved sanitary means were resorted to to prevent the spread of the epidemic. In spite of all precautions, it raged during the rest of the summer with growing intensity, so that by the first week of September 421 deaths out of 706 cases had been reported. Happily cool weather set in unusually early, and the progress of the pestilence thenceforward began to abate. The total number of deaths from the epidemic in Toronto was 527.

Another uncommon event which occurred in Toronto during the year 1849 was a street riot of some importance. The second Lafontaine-Baldwin Government was then in power, and early in the session of 1849 they passed a measure of complete amnesty for all offences arising out of the events of 1837-'38. Mr. W. L. Mackenzie, whose eleven years' sojourn in the United States had been one of continued struggle and privation, hastened to avail himself of the provisions of this measure. He returned to Canada, glad to shelter himself beneath the folds of the flag which he had once reviled. Upon arriving at Toronto, during the third week in March, he took up his temporary abode at the house of Mr. John McIntosh, on Yonge street, who is described in the newspapers of the day as one of the most inoffensive of men. There was still a considerable number of persons left in Toronto whose spurious loyalty outran their discretion, and to them Mackenzie's return was a thing intolerable. About nine o'clock on the night of Thursday, the 22nd of March, as many of them as could be got together paraded through several of the streets, carrying aloft the effigies of Robert Baldwin and William Hume Blake, who were respectively Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, and who had both been strenuous advocates of the Amnesty Bill. They proceeded to Mr. Baldwin's house, where they set fire to and burned the effigies in the middle of the street. They then proceeded to Mr. McIntosh's house, in front of which they burned several tar-barrels. This produced a blaze which caused the fire-bells to be rung, and a great number of people to collect on the spot. The noise and excitement were intense. The mob was largely composed of "certain lewd fellows, of the baser sort," who were always ready for any excuse for rioting and plunder. Amid the tumult of yells and execrations, voices were heard instigating

to the pulling down of McIntosh's house. Fortunately they did not proceed to this length, though they burned Mackenzie in effigy, broke the front windows and a panel of the door, and placed the inmates in danger from the stones and bricks which were violently thrown in. After keeping possession of the streets until about midnight, they marched off to the house of Mr. George Brown, editor and proprietor of the *Globe* (which was the Toronto organ of the Government), where they battered for some time at the door, broke some panes of glass and Venetian blinds, and regularly laid siege to the house, though without doing any further damage. Then the mob dispersed. All these excesses were committed boldly, and without any attempt on the part of the authorities to prevent them. It is said that Mr. George L. Allen, Chief of Police, and at least one member of the City Council, were quiet spectators of the scene. Next day, with a view to the preservation of the peace, a number of special constables were sworn in, and there was no further rioting; but at the next meeting of the Council, the Mayor, Mr. Gurnett, was strongly censured by some of the high Tory members for having incurred the expense of providing special constables to save the life of such a "scoundrelly rebel" as Mackenzie. Language unworthy of civilized and educated men was used by several of the Aldermen, one of whom declared, in so many words: "If it were not for the law, I would not scruple to take his [*i.e.*, Mackenzie's] life." The editor of the *Globe* was present, and it appears that he had never before personally attended a meeting of the Municipal Council. Judging from the following remarks, which appeared in an editorial in the next issue of his paper, he seems to have been profoundly disgusted at the language employed during the discussion:—

"We have often heard of the Fathers of this, the capital of Western Canada, but till last night we never had the calamity of being present at a Council meeting. For five hours we witnessed an exhibition such as we are certain was never before made in any city of the British Empire. There sat, at a spacious table, some twenty persons, with Alderman Beard, Deputy Sheriff in the chair; the Council being in a Committee of the Whole House, everything seemed comfortable and respectable, but at that table was language used that would have disgraced the clubs of Robespierre and Marat."

The burning of the Parliament Buildings at Montreal, and the subsequent riotous manifestations in that city, had satisfied Lord Elgin and his ministers that it would be desirable to remove the seat of Government to some place containing a less turbulent population, and where more respect was paid to constituted authority. The determination finally arrived at

was that the remaining two sessions of the existing Parliament should be held at Toronto, after which the seat of Government should be transferred alternately to Quebec and Toronto for periods of four years. A few weeks before arriving at this conclusion the Governor-General paid a visit to Upper Canada. The ostensible object of his mission was to meet General Zachary Taylor, President of the United States, at Niagara Falls, for the purpose of holding a personal conference with him on the subject of reciprocity : but he was also anxious to judge for himself of the state of public feeling in the Upper Province. He reached Toronto on the 9th of October, and was received by the people with mingled enthusiasm and apprehension, for it was known that many persons were disposed to hold him personally responsible for the Rebellion Losses Bill, and there was some fear of a riot. His Excellency landed from the steamer at Yonge Street wharf, where he was met by a large concourse, including nearly all the prominent citizens, by whom he was escorted to his hotel. Certain hostile demonstrations were made by a few misguided persons as the cortege moved up Yonge Street. Several stones and rotten eggs were flung at the Vice-regal party, who preserved their composure unmoved. Thirteen persons were arrested, and as the grand jury were then in session, the culprits were forthwith presented and committed to prison. The *Globe* has often been censured for its incapacity to do justice to the motives of its political opponents, but the following extract from a contemporary number of that paper would seem to indicate that on that occasion, at least, it could be impartial :—“ It is seldom we have had an opportunity of speaking in terms of approbation of our civic authorities, but we cannot but express our high sense of the manly, independent manner in which all have done their duty on this occasion. The grand jury is chiefly composed of Conservatives ; the Mayor, Aldermen, and police are all Conservatives ; but no men could have carried out more fearlessly their determination to maintain order in the community.”

The removal of the Governmental departments took place in November (1849), and the old range of red brick buildings which had been in use for years before the Union were once more called into requisition for official and Parliamentary purposes. These were the identical buildings on Front Street now appropriated to the use of the Ontario Legislature and the various departments of the Provincial Government. Considerable expense was incurred in renovating and decorating the two chambers respectively assigned to the Assembly and the Council, and by the time they were required for purposes of legislation they presented a most attractive appearance. Lord Elgin took up his quarters temporarily at Ellah's Hotel, on King Street

west, but soon afterwards removed to Elmsley Villa, a structure built on the rising ground to the north of the Yonge Street branch of the College Avenue. Elmsley Villa, as its name implies, was once the property of Chief Justice Elmsley. It was subsequently converted into Knox College, and stood on the site now occupied by the Central Presbyterian Church, on the corner of Grosvenor and St. Vincent Streets. The Governor continued to reside there during his stay in Toronto, and the place thus became permanently associated with his name.

The municipal elections of 1850 were held under an Act passed during the preceding session—12 Vic. cap. 81, section 83—which introduced certain changes in the representation. From 1838 to 1849, inclusive, the elections had been held under the Act 7 Wm. IV., cap. 39, section 3, passed on the 4th of March, 1837, which provided that the aldermen and common councilmen to be thereafter elected should “act in their office for two years.” The Act further provided that “the aldermen and common councilmen in each ward having the fewest votes” should retire at the expiration of one year, but should be eligible for re-election. The Act of 1849 did away with one alderman for each ward, and provided for the election of one only, together with two common councilmen. The change, however, was not destined to be permanent, the measure of 1849 being repealed in 1850 by 13 and 14 Vic. cap. 64, section 2, which again made provision for the election of two aldermen for each ward. It should also be mentioned that in 1847 an additional ward, called the Ward of St. James, was formed from St. David’s Ward, and two aldermen and an equal number of councilmen were elected to represent it in the City Council. In 1853 a seventh ward, called St. John’s, was formed from St. Patrick’s.

The last mayor who has been referred to in these pages was Mr. George Gurnett, who filled that position for three years, from 1848 to 1850, inclusive. He was succeeded in 1851 by Mr. John George Bowes, who retained the dignity during the next three years. Mr. Bowes was in his day and generation one of the most energetic and popular men in the city, who from time to time carried on various pursuits with remarkable success. Mr. Samuel Thompson, who knew him well, and who sat in the Council under his presidency in 1851, has recorded his opinion that “in educational affairs, in financial arrangements, and indeed in all questions affecting the city’s interests, he was by far the ablest man who had ever filled the civic chair. His acquirements as an arithmetician were extraordinary, and as a speaker he possessed remarkable powers.” This account of Mr. Bowes would be incomplete without some reference to a

disagreeable matter in which he was involved, and which for a time interfered with his public usefulness. In the year 1853 it became known that he, while occupying the high office of Chief Magistrate, had purchased, at a discount of twenty per cent, certain municipal debentures issued by the city. This purchase was made in conjunction with Mr. (now Sir Francis) Hincks, the Premier. The facts were elicited in the course of the hearing of a chancery suit in which Mr. Bowes was defendant. It appeared that the city had agreed to take stock in the Ontario, Simcoe & Huron Railway Company to the extent of \$200,000. The debentures were offered for sale on the Toronto stock market at about twenty per cent. below par value, and were so offered for several months. Mr. Bowes and Mr. Hincks purchased at the ordinary market price, and during the following session an Act of Parliament was obtained whereby the debentures were raised to par. No good object is to be served by going minutely into particulars. Suffice it to say that the transaction turned out to be for the city's benefit, and that it was much less culpable than it seemed to be on the face of it, though Mr. Bowes, owing to the fiduciary position occupied by him as mayor of the city at the time of engaging in the purchase, was held accountable for all profits which he had realized. There can be no doubt that he was guilty of an indiscretion, for which, however, he was sufficiently punished by the heavy bill of costs he was called upon to pay. That he did not permanently lose caste in the estimation of his fellow-citizens is sufficiently attested by the fact of his being elected to the mayoralty by the vote of the people in the years 1861, 1862 and 1863.

Mr. Gurnett, though he ceased to fill the civic chair at the end of 1850, was again elected as an alderman for St. George's Ward. Within a month after his election, however—on the 24th of January, 1851—he resigned his seat in the Council and was appointed Police Magistrate, a position which he thenceforward held for somewhat more than ten years.

The affairs of the country were administered from Toronto from November, 1849, until November, 1851, when, in pursuance of the alternating system adopted in 1849, the seat of Government was removed to Quebec. Beyond what has already been set down, the local history of that brief interval contains little of permanent interest, though the city meanwhile advanced rapidly in wealth, commerce, and population. The population in 1851 was 30,775, composed of the following nationalities:—English, 4,958; Scotch, 2,169; Irish, 11,305; natives, not of French origin, 9,956; natives of French origin, 467; Americans, 1,405; Germans and Dutch, 113; all other nationalities, 402. Classified according to re-

ligions belief, the general census of 1851 represents the population as follows: Church of England, 11,577; Church of Scotland, 1,061; Church of Rome, 7,940; Free Church Presbyterian, 2,137; other Presbyterians, 1,346; Wesleyan Methodists, 3,251; Episcopal Methodists, 132; New Connexion Methodists, 257; other Methodists, 483; Baptists, 948; Lutherans, 40; Congregationalists, 646; Quakers, 12; Jews, 57; Universalists, 23; Unitarians, 178; not known, 269; no creed given, 418. These figures, however, would afford a very inadequate and inaccurate idea of the religious classification at the present day.

The general appearance of the city was fully commensurate with its population and commercial prosperity. Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, who visited the place at this time, and who published an account of his travels under the title of "Notes on Public Subjects, made during a Tour in the United States and Canada," refers to Toronto as "spreading over a wide and gently-rising plateau on the lake shore, handsomely built, increasing most rapidly, possessing public buildings which in dimensions, in correctness of taste, and in solidity of construction, are surpassed by few of a similar kind in the second-rate towns in England." He refers to its wealth as "steadily increasing, under perhaps the comparatively slow but yet the certain course of the strict business principles and mercantile honour of the old country." He adds that "its numerous neat and well-kept villas, and houses of larger pretensions attached to considerable farms at a further distance from the town, attest the effect of the process." In a note, he supplies still further justification for the vanity of Torontonians, as follows:—

"It was lately publicly stated, on undoubted authority, that while at one of the great commercial towns on the other side of the lake, in the State of New York, the individuals composing the leading mercantile firms had nearly all changed three times over within the last twenty years, in consequence of failures, the persons in leading positions as merchants, &c., at Toronto, had been the same during the whole time, or had transmitted their wealth and position to their sons; and that many who were beginning their career at the commencement of that period had been pursuing it without reverses, and were now wealthy."

CHAPTER V.

THE RAILWAY ERA.—THE CITY SCHOOLS.—MR. RUSSELL, OF KILWHISS.—GOVERNMENT OFFICES AGAIN REMOVED TO TORONTO.—SIR EDMUND HEAD.—PARLIAMENTARY GLADIATORS.—L'ANNÉE TERRIBLE.—MENDICANCY AND CRIME.—THE DOUBLE SHUFFLE.—DR. CHARLES MCKAY IN TORONTO.

WHEN the era of railways set in, and it became apparent that the old lines and modes of travel would sooner or later have to be abandoned, Toronto underwent her full share of agitation. The citizens recognised the importance of securing railway communication with their eastern and western neighbours, and were not niggardly in voting subsidies to secure the advantages which such communication was certain to confer. Here was projected and built the first iron way in Western Ontario. It was for some years known as the Ontario, Simcoe & Huron Railway, which name was subsequently changed to the Northern. The latter has been a familiar designation in the ears of Torontonians for nearly thirty years. The first sod was turned by Lady Elgin on the 15th of October, 1851, the spot chosen being nearly opposite the Parliament Buildings, on Front Street. From this time forward the work of construction was steadily proceeded with. The earliest portion of the line, from Toronto to Aurora—then called Machell's Corners—was opened on the 16th of May, 1853. On the 13th of the month following, the road was opened as far as Holland Landing, and the first time-table was prepared and issued in manuscript. It was not until 1855 that communication was opened all the way from Toronto to Collingwood. The Toronto and Hamilton line—forming part of the Great Western, which has in modern times been amalgamated with the Grand Trunk—was also opened in 1855. Then came that most important of enterprises, the Grand Trunk, whereby we obtained direct and speedy communication with Montreal and the seaboard. The line was opened through from Montreal to Toronto on the 27th of October, 1855. About seven months later the westerly portion was opened from Toronto to Guelph, whence the line was soon after extended to the western confines of the Province. The Toronto, Grey & Bruce Railway, the Toronto & Nipissing, the Credit Valley and

the Ontario & Quebec, are of much more modern growth. A comprehensive account of Toronto's share in the inception and subsequent developments of all these enterprises would fill many hundreds of pages. Full information on such subjects as these, however, is not likely to be sought for in a Memorial Volume. Various statistical works are published specially devoted to such matters, conspicuous among which is the late Mr. Trout's carefully prepared "Railways of Canada," published at Toronto in 1871. Here it will be sufficient to say that of late years our fair city has become a notable railway centre, and that if our money has been lavishly spent in this direction, we have not been left without compensation. Apart from the main question of convenience, the facilities afforded for shipment of wares and merchandise have encouraged the establishment of many of the largest manufactories in the country, which have added not a little to our commercial prosperity.

To return to the period under consideration. At the municipal elections of 1854 Mr. Joshua George Beard, Alderman for St. Lawrence Ward, was elected to the Civic Chair. In consequence of his becoming seriously ill within a short time after his election, he was for some weeks unable to attend to his official duties, and from the 30th of January to the 3rd of April the deliberations of the Council were presided over by Mr. (afterwards the Hon.) John Beverley Robinson. Mr. Beard was one of the oldest members of the Council, having been returned for St. Lawrence Ward as far back as the month of September, 1834, * and he had occupied a seat in the Council almost continuously ever since. No official census of the city was taken during this year, but the population was not less than 40,000. As an evidence that it was still the day of small things in Toronto in 1854, it may be recorded that the average daily attendance at the City Schools during the year was only 1,459, and that the total cost of maintaining the schools themselves was £4,176. In 1855 the average daily attendance increased to 1,570, and the cost of maintenance to £5,218. The Chief Magistrate for the year last named was Mr. (now the Hon.) George William Allan, who had for some years previously taken much interest in municipal affairs. The population of the City for this year was set down at 41,760.

The number of books of travel issued between 1853 and 1863, in which Toronto is described, may be counted by the score, and matter of more or less local interest is to be found in every one of them. For the present a single extract must suffice. Mr. Robert Russell, of Kilwhiss, Scotland, a close observer of men and things, arrived here in

* See note on p. 155, *ante*.

September, 1854. In his "North America, its Agriculture and Climate," published at Edinburgh in 1857, he thus records his impressions of Toronto, which he pronounces the finest city in Canada: "The wide streets, containing splendid shops and numbers of handsome churches, conspire to impress one with the thriving character of the place. With a friend I went over the schools, which rival those of the United States for efficiency. Toronto has greatly increased within a few years, and it now contains upwards of 45,000 inhabitants. The removal of the seat of Government did not check its advancement, for after all the mere residence of a number of provincial members of Parliament can do little to raise up a town. In fact, the progress of any of the towns along the Canadian shores of the lakes depends upon the agricultural capabilities of the surrounding country. Toronto is merely the exporter of the produce of the district that lies betwixt Ontario and Lake Simcoe, and the importer of the necessities and luxuries that the settlers require. Had the soil to the northwards been no better than the greater part of Massachusetts, Toronto would not have extended her wide streets so far into the bush."

In October, 1855, the Government offices were removed hither from Quebec, and Toronto once more became the capital of Canada. The Governor-General, Sir Edmund Walker Head, who had succeeded Lord Elgin towards the close of the preceding year, did not reach here until November. The old structure known as Government House, which stood in its own grounds on the corner of Simcoe and King streets, had been refurbished and fitted up for His Excellency's reception, and here he abode during his four years' residence in Toronto. In the old days before the Union of the Provinces in 1841 the building had been used as an official residence by five successive Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Canada, namely, Francis Gore, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir John Colborne, Sir Francis Bond Head, and Sir George Arthur. Sir Edmund was the last Governor-General to occupy it, as Toronto has never been the seat of the Government of Canada since his time.

Unlike his kinsman Sir Francis, the new Governor was a man of ripe scholarship, who had made a study of polities, and possessed some of the elements of statesmanship. He was at this time in his fifty-first year, and rather above the medium stature. His complexion had suffered from the use of nitrate of silver as a remedy for epilepsy, to which he was subject. A contemporary account refers to him as possessing a rather firm, not to say stern expression of countenance. He opened the second session of the Fifth Parliament on the 15th of February, 1856. Since the legislature had

last met in Toronto an Act had come into operation whereby the membership of the Assembly had been considerably increased, so that it had been necessary to provide a good deal of additional accommodation. The space which had formerly been vouchsafed to the public was greatly shorn of its proportions. A few seats contiguous to the west entrance were all that could be spared for the use of members of the Upper House, and other visitors who might be regarded as entitled to special privileges. The Chamber assigned to the Upper House had again been decorated, refurnished, and largely remodelled. It presented an aspect of almost imperial splendour, insomuch that the Governor privately remarked that Responsible Government had not obliterated the respect of Canadians for the trappings of sovereignty.* The session was only a few days old when a memorable altercation occurred in the Assembly between the Hon. John A. Macdonald and Mr. George Brown. It occurred on the night of Tuesday, the 26th of February, during the debate on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. Mr. Macdonald was then Attorney-General West, and from his place on the Government benches he taunted Mr. Brown—who was member for Lambton, and leader of the Clear Grit party—with having changed his political views since the last general election. Mr. Brown resented the attack with great vehemence. In the work just quoted from, the present writer has thus described the scene which followed, and its subsequent developments:—

"Inconsistency was of all charges the most intolerable to the mind of Mr. Brown, and upon being taken to task on that score by some of the speakers on the ministerial side his indignation knew no bounds. He had not been speaking five minutes ere he had succeeded in lashing himself into a white heat. He indulged in a tremendous onslaught on what he characterized as the kaleidoscopic polities of some of the members of the Government; and he specially instanced the case of the Attorney-General West and the Postmaster-General.† Anger begets anger; and Mr. Macdonald, stung by the cutting words as they poured hot from the speaker's lips, was roused to a condition of temper which impelled him to forget the pleasant urbanity which generally marked his demeanour, alike to friends and foes. When he rose to reply to Mr. Brown it was evident that he was labouring under wild excitement. He launched forth into a tirade which electrified the House, and caused even the least scrupulous of Parliamentary sharpshooters to stand aghast. He accused the member for Lambton of having falsified testimony, suborned convict witnesses,

* See *The Last Forty Years*, Vol. II., p. 326.

† The Hon. Robert Spence, who subsequently became Collector of Customs at Toronto.

ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF TORONTO, 1884
ST GEORGE'S WARD.



John Maughan



David Walker



George Verrier



James Lobb



James Page



Thomas Daries

ST LAWRENCE WARD.

and obtained the pardon of murderers in order to induce them to give false evidence. These grave delinquencies were alleged to have been committed by Mr. Brown while acting as Secretary to a Commission appointed in 1848 to investigate certain alleged abuses in connection with the Provincial Penitentiary at Kingston. Such foul charges had never before been laid against any member on the floor of a Canadian Parliament : and the astonished legislators gazed in one another's faces in a state of mingled bewilderment and incredulity. When Mr. Macdonald took his seat Mr. Brown once more arose, tremulous with excitement, to repel the accusations made against him. No one who knew the member for Lambton would have expected him, under such circumstances, to carefully choose his words ; and in good sooth he spoke in language akin to that employed by Faulconbridge to the Dauphin of France. He was frequently interrupted by Mr. Macdonald, whose impassioned and spasmodic utterances seemed to have been culled from the Athanasian Creed. Like Roland and Sir Leoline,

" Each spake words of high disdain."

The excitement became general, and rose to fever heat. The very atmosphere of the Assembly seemed to be charged with electricity, and the Speaker twice called the offenders to order. Suddenly each of the Parliamentary gladiators seemed to realize the position in which he stood, and the storm subsided as quickly as it had arisen. Mr. Brown almost immediately afterwards concluded his remarks, which he was permitted to do without further interruption. He contented himself with declaring that the charges had not a vestige of truth in them ; that he had taken down the Attorney-General's words ; and that he would hold him responsible for them. He also announced that he would on the following day move for a Committee of Inquiry. Then he resumed his seat. It was felt that calm deliberation was for the nonce out of the question, and the House broke up for the day.

" Until the meeting of the House on the following afternoon, nothing was talked of but the extraordinary ebullition of the night before. Mr. Brown, according to his announcement, moved for a Committee, and the debate on the motion occupied the greater part of the sitting. The Attorney-General, in the course of the discussion, admitted that he had spoken under great excitement, and that he had no personal knowledge as to the truth or falsity of the charges he had made. He justified his attack, however, upon the ground that his feelings had been grievously wounded by the assaults made upon him by Mr. Brown, and that his information as to that gentleman's conduct as a member of the Penitentiary

Commission had been derived from sources which he was compelled to regard as trustworthy. The Committee was granted, and sat at intervals throughout the greater part of the session. The seven gentlemen composing it were unable to come to a unanimous decision, and finally handed in two separate reports. That of the majority was a non-committal document which could not have been very satisfactory to either of the persons chiefly concerned. It did not find Mr. Brown guilty of any of the offences with which he had been charged, but on the other hand it did not exonerate him. With respect to the charge of falsifying evidence, it was found that the Penitentiary Commissioners, when compiling their report from the mass of evidence taken, had omitted certain passages favourable to the defence, and that, to such an extent, there had been falsification. This, however, which might fairly be attributed to an error of judgment, was the act of the Commissioners as a whole, and not of Mr. Brown only. The charge of having suborned witnesses was wholly unsustained by the evidence, and that of having procured the pardon of murderers was attempted to be sustained by such testimony as did not call for any serious attempt at rebuttal. The minority report embodied a total exculpation of Mr. Brown. The presentation of the two reports to the Assembly gave rise to protracted debates, and Parliament was prorogued without any decisive action having been taken in the matter. Its consideration was never resumed.

"The personal hostility engendered at this time between Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Brown was never entirely allayed. Lapse of time doubtless did something to mitigate the rigour of their impressions, and when accident or public business brought them into personal relations with each other they were mutually able to maintain a semblance of frigid courtesy and respect. Years afterwards, when they had both grown older, and (presumably) wiser, they agreed to sink their differences for the common welfare of the country; but the temporary peace patched up between them was solely for the accomplishment of a special public object, and had little or no effect in obliterating the memory of their long-standing personal feud."

This was the most exciting episode of the session of 1856, though there were several other occasions when the amenities of Parliamentary courtesy were grossly transgressed. An altercation across the floor of the Assembly between Attorney-General Macdonald and Colonel Rankin, member for Essex, on the 16th of April, very nearly led to a duel. The only event of the session which had special reference to Toronto was a motion by Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, member for Glengarry, who introduced and car-

ried through the Assembly a motion in favour of discontinuing the alternate seat of Government system. That system was certainly attended with many disadvantages, and entailed great expense and inconvenience. No one doubted that it would have to be abandoned, but sectional jealousies ran very high, and it would have been impossible to obtain anything approaching a unanimous vote in favour of any permanent capital. Lower Canadian influence was for the time—as it was at many other times—in the ascendant, and on the 16th of April the Assembly resolved, by a vote of 64 to 56, that after 1859 Quebec should be the permanent capital of Canada. This resolution, as will be perceived by reference to the newspapers and histories of the period, indirectly led to the displacement of Sir Allan MacNab and the elevation of Attorney-General Macdonald to the dignity of Premier. The permanent location of the seat of Government was not yet consummated, though it began to be apparent that Toronto, owing to her westerly position, was not likely to be the favoured spot.

The number of persons engaged in some of the various trades and professions in Toronto during the year 1856 are thus set down in Brown's City Directory for that year: Accountants and land agents, 18; architects, 11; artists, 13; bakers, 37; bankers, 11; barristers and solicitors, 108; basketmakers, 2; blacksmiths, 96; bookbinders, 8; boot and shoemakers, 240; builders, 66; butchers, 66; brassfounders, 4; brewers, 15; bricklayers, 91; brickmakers, 55; brushmakers, 5; cabinetmakers, 82; cabmen and proprietors, 33; carpenters, 496; carriagemakers, 16; carters, 137; chemists and druggists, 24; civil engineers and surveyors, 23; clerks, 119; clergymen of all denominations, 57; confectioners, 28; clock and watchmakers, 10; coopers, 23; cutters, 4; dressmakers and milliners, 62; dry goods merchants and importers, 103; edge-tool makers, 3; engineers, 48; gardeners, 61; grocers and provision dealers, 255; hairdressers, 23; labourers, 892; laundresses, 40; machinists, 27; mariners, 45; masons, 51; millers, 5; millwrights, 5; painters, 84; physicians, 36; plasterers, 42; plumbers, 16; printers, 73; saddlers, 18; seamstresses, 14; shipwrights, 5; soap and candlemakers, 15; tailors, 203; tailoresses, 31; tanners, 2; tinsmiths, 37; turners, 14; waggonmakers, 21. This statement, which is not quite complete, shows, when classified, 427 professional men, 1681 mechanics, and 2001 industrial other than mechanical persons.

The material for purely local history during this period is very fragmentary and minute. In 1856 Mr. John Beverley Robinson succeeded Mr. Allan as Chief Magistrate of the city. The population at this time was about 45,000. It was observable, however, that commerce was less progressive than might have been looked for, and that there was a tight-

ening of the money market. This became more apparent after the advent of the succeeding year, 1857, which before its close had ushered in the most disastrous mercantile crisis in our country's history. A part of this disaster was reflected from the neighbouring republic, but its worst features were due to the extravagant expenditure of public money which had been a marked characteristic of the four or five years immediately preceding. We had entered upon the construction of costly railways and public works, and had spent beyond our means. As the dreary autumn passed by trade became almost stagnant, and the usual incidents of such a state of things began to be manifest. Some of the largest of our wholesale houses were unable to meet their engagements, and were compelled to suspend payment. Their failure was reflected among their retail customers, not in Toronto only, but in various towns and villages throughout the country. Old established houses smashed like glass bottles, and mercantile credit ere long reached a state of collapse. Manufactures of all kinds were smitten by paralysis, and our streets swarmed with discharged operatives who could find no employment. Railway enterprise was at an end, and those lines already constructed were involved in embarrassments from which there seemed no possibility of extrication. Never since Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe first entered the harbour, in May, 1793, had Toronto passed so gloomy a season as the autumn and early winter of 1857.

So depressed was trade, and so scarce was money during this direful year, that hundreds of persons in our city who had theretofore enjoyed all the ordinary comforts of life, for the first time felt the sharp pinch of poverty. There was much suffering and want among the labouring classes, with a corresponding amount of drunkenness, vice and crime. There is good reason to believe that several persons died from sheer starvation. For the first time in Toronto's history her streets swarmed with mendicants. The editor of the *Colonist*, in the number for August 4th, thus comments on what he calls the beggar-nuisance: "Pass where you will, and as often as you will, you are beset with some sturdy applicant for alms. They dodge you round corners, they follow you into shops, they are to be found at the church steps, they are at the door of the theatre, they infest the entrance to every bank, they crouch in the lobby of the post-office, they assail you in every street, knock at your private residence, walk into your place of business, and harrass you with a pertinacity that takes no denial. . . . In this our good city of Toronto, begging has assumed the dignity of a craft. Whole families sally forth, and have their appointed rounds; children are taught to dis-

semble, to tell a lying tale of misery and woe, and to beg or steal as occasion offers." The thing was so glaring that it forced itself upon the attention of strangers. "I am surprised," writes a correspondent of the New York *Herald*, "at the number of beggars in Toronto. You cannot go into the streets without annoyance from them. If two persons stop to speak, they are sure to be joined in a few seconds by a beggar."

By reference to the Police Register, it appears that no fewer than 4,996 persons, being actually one-ninth of the city's entire population, were arrested and taken before the Police Magistrate during the year 1857. Of this number 3,971 were males and 1,025 females, of whom 2,031 males and 673 females were classed as "drunk and disorderly," and it appears that a large proportion of the remainder were due, directly or indirectly, to indulgence in strong drink. The gaol record for the year was such as might be anticipated from the state of the moral and commercial atmosphere. The number of commitments was 1,906, of whom 1,316 were males and 590 females, a very large proportion of whom owed their degradation to intemperance.

The picture is far from an attractive one, and there is no inducement to linger over it. The advent of brighter times ushered in a very perceptible change for the better, and when trade resumed its normal condition our streets ceased to be suggestive of poverty and mendicancy. The matter, however, was one requiring time for its adjustment, and it was not till 1859 that business resumed a healthy appearance.

The number of houses in the city in 1857 was 7,476, and the amount of real property was valued by the assessors at £7,288,150, the yearly value of which for assessment purposes was set down at £437,289. The personal property was valued at £1,296,616, the yearly value whereof for assessment purposes was £77,797; thus making the entire real and personal property assessment value £515,086, yielding a gross sum of £74,962. This was exclusive of the real estate held by the corporation, which was valued at £430,418. During the same year there were 4,543 scholars entered upon the school registers. Of these, 2,310 were boys, and the remaining 2,233 girls. The average school attendance for the entire year was only 1,863, of whom 1,023 were boys and 840 were girls. Mr. Ure, in his "Handbook of Toronto," published in the following year, echoes the despair of the Superintendent of Education at this unpromising state of things. "The highest number present," he writes, "in all the schools at any one time during the year 1857 was 2,332—1,373 boys and 1,059 girls. This speaks rather unfavourably for our free school system. With a school population of at least 7,500, taking the low aver-

age of one child of school age to each house, we have a Free School Register of 4,543, and from that list an average attendance of only 1,863. It is no wonder that the Superintendent is forced to the conclusion that the result of the experiment of free schools is anything but encouraging or satisfactory. In 1844, with a population of 18,500, the average attendance of the city schools was 1,194, while in 1857, with a population of 45,000, the average attendance is only 1,863. The model schools established since then absorb 450 of the school population, 225 boys and 225 girls, for their school register is always full. Several denominational schools and private academies have also been opened, and there is a number of private girls' schools opened since 1844. But while these various agencies may draw off a large number from the gross school population, they should in no way affect the attendance of those registered as belonging to the city free schools. On this point the deficiency of the system is most apparent, the average attendance being in no way commensurate with the many facilities and inducements that are held out by these free schools. In a financial point of view the system is a failure, for while in 1844 the cost of the city schools was £1,377 for 1,194 pupils, or at the rate of £1. 10s. per head, in 1857 the cost of the schools was £6,054. 2s. 6d. for 1,863 pupils, or £3. 5s. per head. In 1844 there were only twelve teachers employed; in 1857 the number was thirty-six; so that with a gross population more than double that of 1844, and a threefold complement of teachers, the number of children taught has not very greatly increased; certainly not in a corresponding ratio with the facilities provided."

The Mayor for 1857 was Mr. John Hutchison, a well-known wholesale merchant of those days, who for some years sat in the Council as an Alderman for St. James's Ward. In 1858 Mr. William Henry Boulton, of the Grange, succeeded to the Civic dignity, but did not serve out his full time. On the 8th of November he resigned office, and was succeeded by Mr. David Breckenridge Read, Q. C., an eminent barrister, who represented St. Patrick's Ward. Mr. Read has for nearly fifty years been a well known resident of Toronto, and his genial face and robust figure, which present few indications of advanced years, are familiar to most readers of these pages.

It was during the summer of this same year (1858) that the famous "Double Shuffle" occurred, the particulars of which may be briefly stated. It forms a notable chapter in the political history of Canada, but as it occurred here, in our very midst, some account of it in these pages will be not inappropriate.

The seat of Government question, as already noted, had long been a prolific source of parliamentary discord, and had for several years threatened to imperil the Union. The expense and inconvenience attendant upon periodical removals between Quebec and Toronto were very much felt. As recorded on a former page, a resolution was adopted by the Assembly during the session of 1856 in favour of making Quebec the permanent capital of the Province. It was afterwards determined that the selection of a permanent seat of Government should be left to Her Majesty the Queen, who, after some delay, fixed upon Ottawa. Early in 1858 it was announced that the royal mandate had gone forth, and that neither Toronto nor Quebec was to enjoy the much-coveted honour. The selection of Ottawa by Her Majesty is presumed to have been due to the advice of the Governor-General, Sir Edmund Head. There was much to be said in favour of the proposed site, but the choice was unpopular with the Opposition, and with Upper Canadians generally. During the session of Parliament a motion was introduced into the Assembly by M. Piehé, member for Berthier: "That it is the opinion of this House that the City of Ottawa ought not to be the permanent seat of Government for the Province." The motion was carried by a majority of eight votes. Mr. Brown, leader of the Opposition, accordingly arose and declared that the House had expressed its condemnation of the Government's policy. He ended a brief but telling speech by moving an adjournment in order to subject the ministerial policy to a further and decisive test. The leaders of the Government accepted the test, and announced that their retention of office was dependent upon the result of the impending vote. This announcement restored the allegiance of a number of wavering Lower Canadian ministerialists, who, though they disapproved of Her Majesty's selection of Ottawa as the seat of Government, were not prepared to defeat the Administration, and thereby place the reins of power in the hands of Mr. Brown. The motion was defeated by a majority of eleven, and the Government policy was thus fully sustained, but as the majority was derived from Lower Canadian votes, and as a decided majority of Upper Canadian members voted against the Ministry, Mr. Macdonald and his colleagues deemed it best to resign their places. Their resignation took place on the 29th of July. Mr. Brown was accordingly entrusted with the task of forming an Administration, and on the 2nd of August he announced to Sir Edmund Head that he had completed his arrangements.

The new Ministry—called the Brown-Dorion Ministry, from the names of its respective leaders from the two sections of the Province—were sworn into office at noon of the 2nd of August. The membership was

very incongruous, and even under the most favourable circumstances it could not have long held together. But the attendant circumstances were far from favourable. A motion of want of confidence was immediately carried against them by a considerable majority in both Houses. Mr. Brown, the Premier, thereupon appealed to the Governor-General for a dissolution of Parliament, upon the ground that the existing Parliament did not truly represent public opinion in the country. His Excellency declined, "after full and mature deliberation," to grant a dissolution, and on the 4th of the month the short-lived Brown-Dorion Ministry resigned, after having held office about forty-eight hours.

Mr. Brown believed that he had been unjustly treated by the Governor-General in the matter of the dissolution, and opened fire upon him in the columns of the *Globe*. From that time forward until his departure from Canada, and even subsequently, Sir Edmund had a keen and sleepless censor in Mr. Brown.

There is room for difference of opinion as to the Governor's conduct at this crisis.* As to the sequel there can, unhappily, be no such difference. Mr. now Sir A. T. Galt, member for Sherbrooke, having been applied to to form a new Government, felt compelled to decline the responsibility. He suggested an application to M. (afterward Sir George) Cartier, who had a very large Parliamentary following in the Assembly. The Governor acted upon the suggestion, and M. Cartier responded favourably. He formed a Ministry almost entirely from the gentlemen who had resigned a week previously, and of whom he himself had been one. In fact, the Government then formed by M. Cartier was in all substantial respects the same as the one that had gone out of office on the 29th of July. Yet, though this was practically a resumption of office by the ex-Ministry, the members did not return to their constituents for re-election. This was a violation of the spirit of the Independence of Parliament Act of 1857, which enacted that whenever any person holding any of the principal ministerial offices, and being a member of the Assembly or an elected member of the Legislative Council should resign office, and within a month thereafter accept any other ministerial office, he should not thereby vacate his seat. The enactment had been passed in order to admit of casual transfers of office, whenever such transfers should be desirable in the interests of the public service; but as the statute contained no express restriction to that effect, there was nothing to absolutely prevent such a course or procedure as was adopted by the old members of the Macdonald-

*Any one who wishes to go minutely into the merits of the question is referred to *The Last Forty Years*, vol. II, pp. 371-382.

Cartier Government at this juncture. They accepted different offices in the new Government from those held by them in the old one, but almost immediately afterwards resumed their former portfolios. While there was thus no breach of the express letter of the statute, its spirit had been plainly violated, and though the Assembly supported the new Ministry in their procedure, the moral sense of the community pronounced against it, and probably no constitutional authority of the present day would attempt to defend it. In order to test the legality of this Double Shuffle, as it was called, actions were brought in the Superior Courts of Upper Canada against three of the Ministers concerned, but as there had been no express violation of the letter of the law, the judges exonerated the defendants from liability. Such is the not unedifying story of the Double Shuffle.

An interesting extract descriptive of our city and her streets at this time may be taken from "Life and Liberty in America; or Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada in 1857-8," by Dr. Charles Mackay, who, after a brief sojourn in the United States, visited Lower Canada, and thence proceeded westward to Toronto, whither he arrived in the early summer of 1858. He remarks that "the contrast between Toronto and the cities of Canada East was so marked and striking that it was some time before I could persuade myself that I was not back again in the United States. In Montreal and Quebec the solid, substantial aspect of the houses, the streets, the churches and public buildings, continually suggests the idea of Europe. Everything seems to have the slow growth of centuries, as in France, Germany and England. The streets seem to have arranged themselves to the wants of successive generations, and to have been made straight or crooked, wide or narrow, according to the need or caprice of the moment, and not in pursuance of any pre-devised plan. But Toronto, a thing of yesterday, a mere mushroom compared with the antiquity of Montreal and Quebec, though rivalling the one and exceeding the other in trade or population, is built upon the American principle, which loves the economy of straight lines, asserts the necessity of system, prefers the chess-board to the maze, and the regularity of art to the picturesque irregularity of nature. It is first the plan and then the city; not the city in the first instance, to grow afterwards, or to cease to grow as it pleases, as was the case with all cities more than two hundred years old.

"The streets," he continues, "are long and straight. There is no more crookedness in them than there is in Philadelphia; and they all run at right angles to the lake. One of them—York Street—is supposed on the map to

stretch away, straighter than an arrow's flight, to Lake Simcoe, nearly forty miles distant." This, of course, is a mistake of Dr. Mackay's, who doubtless meant to indicate Yonge Street, instead of York Street. "There is," he proceeds, "a Yankee look about the whole place which it is impossible to mistake; a pushing, thriving, business-like, smart appearance in the people and in the streets; in the stores, in the banks, and in the churches. I could not but observe, too, that there was a much larger predominance of Scotch names over the doors than I had previously seen in any city of America. Looked upon from any part of itself, Toronto does not greatly impress the imagination; but seen from the deck of one of the ferry steamboats that ply at regular intervals between the city and the long, low strip of a peninsula that, at a distance of four miles from the shore, protects the harbour, it has all the air of wealth and majesty that belongs to a great city. Its numerous church spires and public buildings; its wharves, factories and tall chimneys, mark it for what it is, a thriving place." It will be observed that the distance from the main shore to the peninsula is very inaccurately stated at four miles, the real distance being less than two miles.

CHAPTER VI.

NEW MODE OF ELECTING THE MAYOR.—FINAL REMOVAL OF THE GOVERNMENT FROM TORONTO.—THE REFORM CONVENTION OF 1859—THE “JOINT AUTHORITY” RESOLUTIONS.—VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.—ENTHUSIASTIC DEMONSTRATIONS.—THE ANDERSON EXTRADITION CASE.—MURDER OF JOHN SHERIDAN HOGAN.—DEATH OF WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE.—DEPARTURE OF SIR EDMUND HEAD.—LORD MONCK.—DR. RUSSELL AND ANTHONY TROLLOPE.

N 1859 a new mode of electing the chief magistrate came into operation. By the Upper Canada Municipal Institutions Act of the previous year* it had been enacted that mayors of cities and towns should thereafter be chosen by the electors of such cities and towns at the annual election to be held on the first Monday in January. Under this statute Toronto's chief magistrate was elected for seven years, from 1859 to 1866, inclusive. The first to be thus returned by the direct vote of the people was Mr. (now the Hon.) Adam Wilson, who is still happily preserved to us in the plenitude of his vigour, and who has for many years past occupied an honoured seat upon the judicial bench. He was again returned in 1860, and he presided at the Council Board during the greater part of that year, but he had been elected to Parliament as representative of North York in the Assembly, and was thus compelled to devote much time to his Parliamentary duties. On the 23rd of February, Mr. John Carr, alderman for St. Patrick's Ward, was appointed President of the Municipal Council during Mr. Wilson's absence in Parliament.

The Government offices were finally removed from Toronto to Quebec during the summer of 1859, and the Canadian Legislature has never since met here. Quebec thenceforward continued to be the capital of Canada until 1865, when the offices were removed to the permanent capital, Ottawa, where they have ever since remained. Except the removal of the seat of Government from Toronto, the only local event of any historical importance at this time was the meeting of the Reform Convention during the second week in November. This gathering was at-

* See Statutes of Canada, 1858, chapter 99, sec. 101.

tended by prominent members of the Reform party from all parts of Upper Canada, to the number of nearly 600. Its object was to consider the relations between Upper and Lower Canada, and the financial and political evils resulting therefrom, and to devise constitutional changes fitted to secure good government for the Province. The meeting of this Convention was an important step towards the accomplishment of Confederation, as, though the assembly generally did not regard such a scheme as within the realms of the practicable, resolutions were passed condemnatory of the then-existing union of the Provinces, and in favour of the formation of two or more local governments, having control over all sectional matters, and of "some joint authority having control of matters common to the Province at large." The practical recognition of the principle of Representation by Population was declared to be a *sine qua non* to the people of Upper Canada, and a Constitutional Reform Association was formed for the purposes of carrying out the views of the Convention.

The conspicuous event of the year 1860 was the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, and a numerous suite, reached Toronto during the first week in September. Their progress through Canada, all the way from Quebec, had been marked by a series of ovations unparalleled in the country's history. At Kingston and Belleville only had anything of an unpleasant nature occurred. The Orange lodges of those towns had indulged in a somewhat exuberant display of party devices, and had thereby to some extent disturbed the harmony of the royal progress. The Duke of Newcastle had declined to lend any countenance to these proceedings, and had expressed himself strongly on the injudicious conduct of the Orangemen, who were ready enough to resent such language. The Governor-General, Sir Edmund Head, who accompanied the party on their westward progress, had also taken occasion to say some severe things about the unseemly exhibitions at Kingston and Belleville, and had thereby placed himself under the same ban as the Duke. The enmity temporarily engendered by these conflicting sentiments led to the only disagreeable episode which marked the royal visit to Toronto. A few impetuous youths resented the interference of the Duke and Sir Edmund by assembling on Colborne Street and burning both those eminent persons in effigy.

This, however, was a small affair, as it was participated in by comparatively few individuals, and those few could not in any sense be said to represent public opinion in our city. In every other particular the visit of His Royal Highness was a brilliant and even splendid affair. We have

since had more than one grand display of decorations and illuminations, but never has Toronto presented so truly charming and delightful an aspect as during the brief interval between the 7th and 12th of September, 1860. For this the public were entirely indebted to the liberality of the citizens, and the energy and good taste of the various committees of arrangements, for the atmospheric conditions were decidedly unfavourable. The sky during a considerable part of the time was dark and lowering, and there were several heavy downpourings of rain. But there had been ample time for preparation, and neither trouble nor expense was spared to make the occasion one to be long remembered. The *Globe* of the 8th indulged in some rather loud description of the city's appearance on the day of the Prince's arrival, but no one who witnessed that event can conscientiously say that the account is exaggerated. The day was referred to as "the brightest in the annals of Upper Canada"—the adjective being presumably employed in a figurative rather than a literal sense, for as matter of fact the sun was only able to cast its rays through the clouds at long and fitful intervals. The royal party arrived from the eastward about half-past six o'clock in the evening on board the steamer *Kingston*. The landing-place was the foot of John Street, where a huge amphitheatre with capacity for seating several thousand persons had been erected. The seats, rising tier upon tier, were filled with gaily dressed people, including most of the wealth and fashion of the city. At the upper end of the amphitheatre a broad roadway led up to the Esplanade, on each side of which were tiers of seats. At the top was a magnificent arch which had been constructed with admirable taste and skill, and which evoked admiration from every beholder. Beyond this arch, north, east, and west, stretched a countless multitude, eager to catch a glimpse of the distinguished young visitor. As the *Kingston* approached the wharf, lusty cheers arose from many thousand throats. The Prince, upon stepping ashore, was greeted by the magnates of the city, and an address, suited to the occasion, was read by the Mayor, Mr. Wilson. The Prince made an appropriate response, which was no sooner concluded than the noble strains of the National Anthem arose from more than a thousand sweet childish voices. This effect had been planned as a novelty, the children of the Public and Sunday schools having been specially trained for the occasion by Mr. Carter, organist of St. James's Cathedral. The Prince and the Governor-General then proceeded in carriages to Government House, which had been fitted up for their reception.

Later in the evening took place the first royal progress through the city. The illuminations were magnificent beyond description. For an

extended but far from adequate account of them, the reader is referred to any one of the several volumes specially devoted to the Prince's tour in Canada. The newspapers of the following morning referred with unprecedented enthusiasm to the events of the previous day, and more especially to the splendid appearance of the streets at night. "Many a year hence," remarked the *Globe*, "it will be told that on that day the heir-apparent to the British Throne made his public entry into the chief city of the Western Province, and received a welcome surpassing in magnificence and enthusiasm all the public ovations ever before witnessed in the New World. . . . No pen could adequately describe the unbounded enthusiasm of the joyous multitude assembled to greet their future Sovereign on the banks of Lake Ontario. Nor will anyone who witnessed it ever recall without thrilling delight the magnificent spectacle presented when the Prince stepped from his vessel and took his seat on the Throne amid the thundering cheers of the vast concourse piled up in the noble amphitheatre around him. The illumination of the city at night was a very grand sight, far surpassing, it is believed, any similar demonstration ever witnessed on this continent. Particular buildings may have been illuminated elsewhere on a grander scale, but as a whole it is doubted if the display of that night was ever excelled in America in extent, variety, and brilliancy of decoration. The Normal School, Osgoode Hall, and the Romaine Buildings were magnificently decorated, and the *Globe* Buildings, St. Lawrence Hall, the Edinburgh Assurance Company, the St. Nicholas Restaurant and scores of other buildings were illuminated in splendid style. Many of the arches erected at prominent points of the city were noble designs, executed with a degree of artistic taste which must have astonished the illustrious guests who passed under them. The arch erected on the crest of the amphitheatre at the landing will be a lasting monument to the fame of its designer, Mr. Storm. Fine as were the arches erected at Quebec, Montreal, and Ottawa, the finest of them could not for a moment enter into competition with it."

Other contemporary accounts, though less voluminous than that of the *Globe*, are all pitched in the same enthusiastic key, "In the whole history of Toronto," says one of them, "during the sixty or seventy years which have rolled on their course since the first log house was built by the hands of white men on the shore of Toronto bay, never before was she dressed in such a profusion of decorations as on every street, almost on every house, she exhibited on the 7th of September, 1860. All the citizens vied with each other who should do the most to indicate the joyous enthusiasm with which all classes were eager to greet the

advent of the Prince of Wales. The result was a display of evergreens and flowers, banners and hammerets, shields, drapery and gorgeous illuminations such as never before had been equalled in Upper Canada."

The party did not bid adieu to Toronto until Wednesday, the 12th, one of the intervening days having been spent in a hurried excursion to Collingwood. During these six days—from the 7th to the 12th, inclusive—Toronto's citizens held continuous high carnival. Even the baldest summary of the pleasant dissipations of that delirious interval would occupy more space than can be spared for the purpose in this volume. Suffice it to say that there were a magnificent levée at Osgoode Hall, a regatta on the bay, a review of the active militia force, a visit to the University, and to the Horticultural Gardens. The latter were formally opened by H. R. H., and a fine young Canadian maple planted there by his own hands still bears perennial witness to his visit. When he bade us a final adieu, many thousands of our people assembled to bid him "God speed," and to wish him a safe return to his island home beyond the sea.

As the year 1860 drew towards its close, public attention in Toronto, and to a less degree all over the Province, was concentrated on the Anderson Extradition case, some account of which has found its way into all our histories of Canada. The circumstances which gave rise to this *cause célèbre* were briefly as follow. In 1853 a coloured slave named John Anderson escaped from bondage in the State of Missouri. Being pursued by one Diggs, who sought to capture and deliver him back to bondage, he slew the invader of his liberty, and, after many extraordinary adventures, finally made his way to Canada. More than six years elapsed, when, in the month of April, 1860, he was recognised by a human bloodhound who had tracked him to this country, and who caused his arrest for the murder of Diggs, with a view to his extradition under the Ashburton Treaty. Hardly ever has public feeling in Canada been more thoroughly aroused. The press, from Sandwich to Gaspé, took up the matter from day to day, and meetings were held in scores of towns and villages throughout the Province. Funds were subscribed to engage the ablest legal talent in the land, to oppose this attempt on the part of a slaveholding republic to procure the extradition of a man whose only offence was that he had committed homicide in defending his own liberty. The public interest in the question was little less keen in the United States than in Canada, and ere long the excitement spread to England where the subject was a pregnant theme of discussion in the principal London journals.

The judicial action in this sensational drama centred at Toronto, where, in Michaelmas Term, 1860, the escaped slave John Anderson was brought before the Court of Queen's Bench on a writ of *habeas corpus*. After the case had been argued by some of the leading counsel in the profession, Chief Justice Robinson and Judge Burns decided for the surrender of the prisoner. The other judge of the Court—Mr. Justice McLean—dissented from this view, but of course judgment was pronounced according to the decision of the majority. The decision, however, produced great dissatisfaction throughout the land, as it seemed to recognise the alleged rights of the slaveholder. The excitement rose to a greater height than ever, and those who cared more for justice than for technicalities resolved that Anderson's liberty and life should not be sacrificed, if the sacrifice could possibly be avoided. A writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained from the Court of Queen's Bench at Westminster to bring Anderson's body before the judges there, where the decision in his favour was a foregone conclusion. For a short time it seemed as though a conflict was inevitable between the Court at Westminster and the Court at Toronto, for the latter could not be expected to submit without protest to any interference on the part of the English tribunal. What the result might have been had the conflict been fought out is hard to say, but means were happily found which accomplished the double purpose of preventing any continuance of the discussion, and of relieving Anderson from his exceedingly unpleasant position. A writ of *habeas corpus* was issued from the Upper Canadian Court of Common Pleas, and that tribunal, without entering into the merits of the question, set the prisoner at liberty upon a technicality.

No reader of these pages who lived in Toronto at that time can have forgotten the rejoicings which were heard on every hand when it became known that Anderson had been discharged from custody. From many pulpits fervent prayers had been offered up on his behalf while the question was still under consideration at Osgoode Hall. "God bless brother Anderson," was an aspiration constantly heard during this period from all the coloured congregations in the city, who held nightly prayer-meetings while the excitement was at its height. When Anderson finally regained his liberty, a general chorus of thanksgiving went up from all the lovers of liberty in our land; and it is worth noting that the exultation was just as great in Old England, and even in many parts of New England, as with us.

In the spring of the following year Toronto was stirred to her nethermost depths by the discovery of a tragedy which had taken place in her

ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF TORONTO 1884
ST JAMES WARD



Newman Steiner



Wm. Lyle



Walter McNaughton



George B. Smith



William Gage

ST THOMAS WARD.



William E. St. L.

midst more than a year before. A short retrospect is necessary in order to put the reader in possession of the facts. In the month of December, 1859, John Sheridan Hogan, a prominent journalist of Toronto, and a member of the Provincial Legislature, unaccountably disappeared. Much speculation was indulged in as to the cause of his disappearance, for he was a rather conspicuous personage, and an acknowledged power in the ranks of the Reform party. Various rumours were afloat—among others that he had absconded to avoid payment of his liabilities, and had gone to Texas. All conjectures were far wide of the mark, and his disappearance was considerably more than a nine-days' wonder. But as time passed by, the public mind found other subjects to engross its attention, and, except by his personal friends and acquaintances, the absent man was forgotten. The County of Grey, which he represented in Parliament, long persisted in looking forward to his return, and refrained from electing another member in his stead. The mystery of his prolonged absence remained unsolved until the spring of 1861, when his partly decomposed body was discovered enveloped in water near the mouth of the River Don. There were several deep contusions about the head and neck. These might have been accounted for on the theory of his long continuance under water, and of the frequent collision of his remains with sticks, stones, and other hard substances; but the public at once jumped to the conclusion that the wounds had been inflicted by human hands, and that a murder had been committed. As it happened, the conclusion was borne out by subsequent developments. The excitement brought about by the discovery of the decomposed and mutilated body wrought upon the nerves of one of the persons concerned in the tragedy, and soon afterwards a loathsome chapter of details came to light. On the night of his disappearance the doomed man started from his abode in the city to visit a friend who resided beyond the Don, on the Kingston road. While crossing the bridge over the river he was accosted by a woman, who engaged him for a moment in conversation, while one of her female companions struck him in the forehead with a stone placed in the foot of a stocking. The horrible work was soon over. Several other persons, male and female, participated in the crime, the primary object of which was plunder. Poor Hogan was robbed of a considerable sum of money which he had upon his person, and his body was then thrown over the parapet into the turbid waters of the river, whence it had gradually been carried down to near the mouth of the stream. The murderers were members of a company of ruffians known as the Brooks' Bush Gang, who frequented a wood in that neighbourhood, and lived by robbery and crime. It was a

revelation to respectable citizens when it became known that Toronto and its suburbs contained such a den of wild beasts, who seemed to have walked out of a lurid chapter of Eugene Sue's "Mysteries of Paris." Several of them were arrested and tried, but, as not unfrequently happens, the most culpable of them managed to elude punishment—one by turning Queen's evidence, and others by proving an *alibi*. A man named Brown, who was present, but who does not appear to have had any actual hand in the crime, was found guilty and hanged. The disclosures at the trial had the effect of breaking up the gang, the members whereof probably found other fields for the practice of their hideous trade. One of the most infamous of the women was not long since—and probably still is—a well known resident of Buffalo.

In August of this year (1861) William Lyon Mackenzie, who has filled a conspicuous place in former chapters of this narrative, passed away from the world in penury and gloom. The last reference to him in these pages was in connection with the riot which occurred immediately after his return from exile, in the spring of 1849. During the rest of his life he made his home in Toronto. He regained a certain amount of prestige with the Reform party, and in 1851 was elected to the Provincial Assembly for the County of Haldimand. He sat for that constituency until the close of the session of 1858, when he resigned his seat. He thenceforward restricted his interference in politics to writing about them in the columns of *Mackenzie's Weekly Message*, a periodical founded by him in Toronto several years before, and which he continued to publish at irregular intervals down to about fifteen months before his death. Its publication, however, was altogether insufficient for his support, and he often felt the bitter pinch of poverty. In 1857 a subscription for his benefit was set on foot by some of the leading Reformers. The declared object of the subscription was to present him with a testimonial, but this was merely alleged in order to avoid wounding his self-respect and sturdy independence of character, as he would have bitterly resented any aid which took a purely eleemosynary shape. The real object of the movement, however, was to afford him pecuniary assistance; to help to smooth his declining years by placing him in comfortable circumstances, and beyond the necessity for further labour. The subscription was eminently successful, and a sum was raised which, if properly administered, would have gone far to provide for his future wants. But any assistance rendered him had to be hedged round with great care, lest he should take mortal offence and refuse to touch it. There seems to have been a want of method in carrying out some of

the details, and a good deal of the money was doubtless frittered away. A house and lot were, however, procured for him on Bond Street, and he removed thither to live out the two or three sad years yet remaining to him. A considerable sum was loaned to him by the subscription committee—of course without any idea of ever receiving the amount again from him. But he was then in debt, and a part of the loan was employed by him in relieving himself from his liabilities. While the remaining portion lasted it was doubtless of material assistance to him in enabling him to stave off the inevitable; but it did not last long, and he was again in sore need. His physical and mental powers gradually succumbed to the grievous burden he had borne so long. He finally refused to take any medicine, or even to take ordinary precautions to prolong his life. Slowly and sadly he sank into his grave. He died at his house on Bond Street on the 28th of August. He was sixty-six years and five months old at the time of his decease. "His career," as the present writer has said elsewhere, "is one which can by no means be held up to unqualified admiration, but he was, according to his lights, a sincere patriot, and one who wished well to his fellow-creatures. His energy, though frequently misdirected, was such as, under different conditions, must have ensured success. His ambition, though unstable and erratic, was upon the whole honourable and public-spirited. His great defect was his inability to reason, and his tendency to be driven hither and thither by his impulses. The problem of human existence was to him, even more than to most men, a curiously involved and insoluble affair, and he spent most of his days and many of his nights in vain attempts to solve it from the wrong end. His life, no less than his death, was sad and sorrowful, and Canada may well afford to drop a tear over the grave of the man who, rash and wrong-headed as he was, never ceased to be zealous for Canadian liberty and popular rights.*

As the seat of Government was no longer in Toronto, there is no necessity for entering into any minute details respecting the administration of public affairs during this period. It may as well be mentioned, however, that Sir Edmund Head ceased to direct our colonial ship of state on the 24th of October, 1861. He surrendered the reins of Government to his successor, Lord Monck, and bade a final adieu to our shores. The *Globe* had never forgotten or forgiven what it doubtless regarded as his tergiversation in 1857, and it sent the following sinister blessing after him: "Sir Edmund Head departs, leaving behind him a worse reputation than any of his predecessors, not excepting

* *The Last Forty Years*, Vol. II., pp. 416, 417.

even his worthy cousin, the other baronet." Such a benediction was hardly justified by the facts. Sir Edmund was by nature somewhat cold and unsympathetic, and he had not made any very devoted friends during his stay among us; neither had he accomplished anything extraordinary for the Province in the way of statesmanship, unless the settlement of the seat of Government question is to be so regarded; but there seems to be abundant reason for believing that he was honest and well meaning, and that he upon the whole did his duty according to the light that was in him. He bore one painful remembrance of Canada with him across the Atlantic. His only son and heir, John Head, a youth of much intellectual promise, lost his life by drowning, while bathing in the St. Maurice River, near the Falls of Shawenegan, on the 25th of September, 1859.

The Right Honourable Charles Stanley, Fourth Viscount Monek, Sir Edmund's successor in the Governor-Generalship, was an Irish peer who had manifested some aptitude for official life, and had sat in the House of Commons as member for the English constituency of Portsmouth.

According to the census returns published in 1861, Toronto then had a population of 44,821. An analysis of the principal nationalities composing this population showed the following results:—Natives of Canada not of French origin, 18,767; of French origin, 435; Ireland, 12,441; England and Wales, 7,112; Scotland, 2,961; United States, 2,031; Prussia, German States, and Holland, 336; France, 66; Italy and Greece, 22; Spain and Portugal, 8; Nova Scotia, 116; New Brunswick, 67; Newfoundland, 105; West Indies, 79; East Indies, 10. A classification by religions presents the following figures:—Church of England, 14,125; Church of Rome, 12,135; Established Church of Scotland, 2,893; Free Church of Scotland, 2,480; United Presbyterian, 1,231; Wesleyan Methodists, 5,022; Episcopalian Methodists, 1,149; New Connection Methodists, 280; other Methodists, 525; Baptists, 1,288; Lutherans, 167; Congregationalists, 826; Quakers, 17; Bible Christians, 23; Christians, 79; Second Adventists, 47; returned merely as Protestants, 1,669; Disciples, 117; Jews, 153; Universalists, 41; Unitarians, 165; Mennonites and Tunkers, 5; no creed given, 148; other creeds not classed, 236. The increase in population during the preceding ten years had thus been about forty-four per cent. It may be mentioned that this same year (1861) witnessed the establishment of the Toronto Street Railway.

An observant visitor to Toronto at this time was Dr. William Howard Russell, the veteran newspaper correspondent of the London *Times*. "The city," writes he, "is so very surprising in the extent and excellence of its public edifices that I was fain to write to an Ameri-

can friend at New York to come up and admire what had been done in architecture under a monarchy, if he wished to appreciate the horrible state of that branch of the fine arts under his democracy. Churches, cathedrals, market, post-office, colleges, schools, mechanics' institute, rise in imperial dignity over the city; but there was a visible deterioration in the beer and billiard saloons, and the drinking exchanges. The shops are large, and well furnished with goods, and trade even now is brisk enough, considering the time of the year. . . . In this winter time the streets are filled with sleighs, and the air is gay with the carolling of their bells. Some of these vehicles are exceedingly elegant in form and finish, and are provided with very expensive furs, not only for the use of the occupants, but for mere display. The horses are small, spirited animals, of no great pretension to beauty or breeding. The people in the streets are well-dressed, comfortable-looking, well-to-do—not so tall as the people in New York, but stouter and more sturly-looking. Their winter brings no discomfort, for fuel is abundant and not dear, and when the wind is not blowing high the weather is very agreeable."

Anthony Trollope visited us in the autumn of 1861. He recorded his impressions of our city in his well-known book entitled "North America," after the following fashion: "Toronto, as a city, is not generally attractive to a traveller. The country around it is flat; and though it stands on a lake, that lake has no attributes of beauty. Large inland seas such as these great northern lakes of America never have such attributes.

. . . The streets in Toronto are paved with wood, or rather planked, as are those of Montreal and Quebec; but they are kept in better order. I should say that the planks are first used at Toronto, then sent down by the lake to Montreal, and when all but rotted out there, are again floated off by the St. Lawrence to be used in the thoroughfares of the old French capital." This, if somewhat hard upon Quebec, is highly flattering to Toronto. But there is no rose without its accompanying thorn. Our author goes on to inform us that if the streets of Toronto are better than those of the other towns, the roads round it are worse. "I had the honour," he writes, "of meeting two distinguished members of the Provincial Parliament at dinner some few miles out of town, and, returning back a short time after they had left our host's house, was glad to be of use in picking them up from a ditch into which their carriage had been upset. To me it appeared all but miraculous that any carriage should make its way over that road without such misadventure."

CHAPTER VII.

DEATH OF THE PRINCE CONSORT.—SYMPATHY FOR THE QUEEN.—MILITARY ENTHUSIASM IN TORONTO ARISING OUT OF THE "TRENT" AFFAIR.—SOUTHERN REFUGEES.—YEARS OF PROSPERITY.—THE FENIAN RAID AT FORT ERIE.—A SAD SUNDAY EVENING IN TORONTO.—THE HONOURED DEAD.

JUST before 1861 gave place to 1862, news reached Canada of the affliction that had been sustained by Her Majesty on the 14th of December, in the death of the Prince Consort. In Toronto the news evoked much sympathy for the Queen in her sad bereavement, and not a few seemed to regard the matter almost in the light of a personal deprivation. The flags about the city, including that at the office of the American consnl, were hung at half-mast. The newspapers throughout the Province, almost without exception, displayed the usual insignia of grief in the form of turned rules. On the following Sunday, sermons of condolence with Her Majesty were preached in several of our city churches, and from every pulpit in Toronto petitions on her behalf ascended to the Throne of the Most High. All hearts went out to the widowed Queen in her great sorrow, and more than one kindly-meant expression of sympathy was despatched to her across the Atlantic during the closing days of the year.

Scarcely had Lord Monck assumed the duties of his high office ere he was called upon to exercise to the utmost such diplomatic talents as he was possessed of. The seizure of Messieurs Mason and Slidell from the British mail steamer *Trent*, by Captain Wilkes, of the United States navy, threatened to involve the republic in war with Great Britain. Such a conflict would of course have been attended with momentous consequences to this Province, which would have been the principal battle ground. The seizure roused a thrill of indignation in Canada, which was intensified three-fold by the attitude assumed by the United States press and people. Wilkes was feted, even by sensible and moderate-minded Bostonians, as though he had achieved eternal fame for his country's flag. It was a time when the utmost tact and discretion were required on the part of all those in authority. Our new Governor-General

played his part with great good sense, and fully justified the confidence reposed in him at the Colonial office. The exultation of Captain Wilkes's admirers was of short duration. Happily, the envoys were delivered up, and the danger passed by ; but while the negotiations were in progress it seemed as though our country would not want for brave defenders. All through the ordeal the average Canadian mind was in a state of ferment. Up to this juncture public opinion among us had been very much divided on the subject of the Great Rebellion which the republic had upon its hands. From this time forward an overwhelming majority of Canadians declared for the Southern cause. While the question of surrender or non-surrender remained still undecided, and war was regarded as a by no means remote probability, thousands of volunteers sprang to arms. This patriotic sentiment found strong expression in Toronto, where new volunteer companies were formed, and numerous representatives of all classes of society turned out to enrol their names as recruits, and to learn the mysteries of drill. It may be said that this was the beginning of the military spirit that has ever since been more or less perceptible among our young men. Toronto at once began to be regarded in the light of a future military centre for Upper Canada, and, in the event of war, as a large naval station. The papers were full of the subject, to the exclusion of other important matters. The *Globe* of Friday, the 27th of December, in an editorial article headed "Toronto as a Military Depot," commented upon the situation thus: "It is very probable that in the event of a war Toronto will be made a large naval station. Our position upon the lake gives us the same advantages as our position upon the land. The Americans will never dare to pass far beyond the Niagara frontier on their way to Hamilton, and our harbour is filled with ships ready to convey troops to act upon their rear. This fact besides is in our favour. The eastern channel—now more than a mile in width—will in all probability prevent the freezing of the bay in front of the city. At any rate, the channel and the western and largest portion of our harbour is always open. Not so with Kingston and other places upon the lakes. They are completely ice-bound, and should an enemy make his appearance, the ships, being unable to move, would be almost useless for purposes of defence. It is a matter of the first importance that during all seasons of the year the war vessels should be free to act upon any portion of the lake, and Toronto harbour is the only one on Lake Ontario where they will not be shut up in winter."

This article was merely one out of hundreds of straws which plainly indicated the direction of the wind. The wildest enthusiasm prevailed

among the volunteers. War with the United States would have been a popular measure, and scores of Southern refugees found a warmer welcome among us than under other circumstances would have been accorded to them. This ebullition of feeling was neither wise nor far-seeing, but under the circumstances it was not unnatural.

The allusion in the above extract from the *Globe* to "the eastern channel" requires a few words of explanation. Several years before this time the peninsula in front of the city had ceased to be a peninsula, and had become an island. The continual action of storms and waves upon the narrow isthmus had long threatened to break down the frail partition, and thereby connect the bay with the lake outside; and this was finally accomplished one tempestuous night in November, 1858. The gap thus created temporarily closed up within a few days afterwards, but was again broken through in the course of the winter, and has ever since been a permanent open passage, varying in form and width from season to season but always existing to a sufficient extent to afford facilities for navigation from the east.

For the next two or three years there is very little to record in the way of local history. The city, in common with the rest of the Province, had completely recovered from commercial depression, and enjoyed a period of exceptional prosperity. American gold flowed into the country in a steady tide, for we were overrun with agents from across the line who eagerly bought up live stock, poultry, eggs and other staple articles of food at high prices. This state of things was due to the war of secession, which involved the necessity of keeping a great army—or rather a series of great armies—continually in the field. The demand for produce of all kinds was largely in excess of the supply, and prices steadily increased. Canadian farmers and dealers reaped a rich harvest, for it was from them that supplies had to be chiefly obtained, the raising of produce having necessarily been interfered with in the United States by the war. A great many Southern refugees also continued to take up their abode among us, though it can hardly be said that we derived much advantage from their presence, as they on several occasions very nearly involved us in serious international complications. Their favourite headquarters in Canada was Montreal, though Toronto was also the temporary sojourn of many hundreds of them.

From 1863 to 1866, then, was a prosperous interlude in Toronto's history. Her trade, wholesale and retail, was in a sound and vigorous condition. In a few instances considerable fortunes were rapidly accumulated, and the mercantile community generally made large advances

in wealth. Although the population increased at an unprecedentedly rapid rate, there was little pauperism or distress among us. From this period, too, our city became to some extent a summer resort for wealthy citizens of the United States. While war-prices ruled, residents of the large American cities found that they could sojourn in Canada for the summer season much more cheaply than they could live at home in their own houses. Some of these temporary residents conceived a fondness for Canadian life, and took up their permanent abode among us, investing their capital here, and identifying themselves with our institutions.

As previously mentioned, Mr. Bowes filled the civic chair during the years 1861, 1862 and 1863. In 1864 he was succeeded by Mr. Francis H. McLealf, who retained office until the close of 1866.

For two or three years before this time rumours had been current of a projected invasion of Canada by Fenians from the United States. As the spring of 1866 advanced, these rumours received strong confirmation when it became known that preparations were being made on a large scale for a combined series of descents upon the Province at different points along the frontier. It was proclaimed, and generally understood, that St. Patrick's Day, the 17th of March, had been appointed by the Fenian executive for the commencement of active operations. The Canadian volunteers held themselves in readiness to give a warm reception to the marauders, for as marauders only could such intruders upon our soil be regarded. The appointed time passed by without any demonstration, but it was evident enough that the project was postponed merely, and not abandoned. In April an absurd demonstration was made by a ragged horde on the New Brunswick frontier, but it ended almost before it began, and could not have been regarded as a serious attempt, even by those who took part in it. All through May, however, the Fenian organizers continued their preparations, and declared to their adherents that Canada would fall an easy and willing prey into their hands. Towards the end of the month a considerable number of them collected at several points. The largest gathering was at Buffalo, whence it was evident that a descent on the Niagara frontier was in contemplation. Before daylight on the morning of the 1st of June the long-threatened "invasion" was consummated. About a thousand men, under the command of an Irish-American soldier named O'Neil, crossed the Niagara River from Black Rock, and landed on the western shore, near Fort Erie. They advanced upon and invested that village, and during the day skirmished about the country, taking possession of any horses and provisions that came in their way. They also cut the telegraph wires, destroyed a portion of the Grand Trunk Railway

track, and burned a bridge in the neighbourhood. A number of small boats kept crossing and recrossing the river, bringing provisions and reinforcements from Buffalo, notwithstanding the proximity of the United States gun-boat *Michigan*, which patrolled the stream with the ostensible design of preventing breaches of the neutrality laws.

Intelligence of these events was rapidly disseminated, and in Toronto, as elsewhere throughout the Province, a thrill of indignation ran through the community. Regular troops were despatched to the scene of action, and the volunteers were called upon to give their assistance. Brigade-Major Dennis was instructed to call out 600 of the Toronto Volunteer force for active service. The call was promptly responded to by Major Gillmor of the Queen's Own, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st —when the hostile occupation of our soil was only a few hours old—the steamer *City of Toronto* conveyed the required number of our military fellow-townsmen across the lake to Port Dalhousie. They were largely composed of young men and boys, many of whom were collegians and undergraduates of the University. How they were conveyed from Port Dalhousie to St. Catharines, and thence to the fatal field of Ridgeway: how they had to bear the brunt of the brief conflict: how the regulars, under Colonel Peacocke, did not put in an appearance until too late for their services to be of any avail: how the lives of several of our gallant young men were sacrificed to inexperience and incompetence: all these things belong to the general history of Canada, and any extended account of them here would be out of place. But it is in place to record the fact that the heart of more than one Toronto mother was sorely wrung by the events of that unhappy time, and that sorrow was brought home to many a Toronto household.

A writer in *The Varsity* for June 2nd, 1883, who was himself a member of the Queen's Own, and who was wounded by a Fenian bullet at Ridgeway, gives an interesting account—too long for quotation in full—of his personal experiences from the time when news of the invasion first reached the city, until his return to his home on the evening of Sunday, the 3rd of June, which was a memorable day in Toronto's history. A number of those wounded on the field (among whom was the narrator), together with the bodies of their slain comrades, reached Yonge Street wharf by steamer from Port Dalhousie, about ten o'clock at night. An immense crowd had collected at the landing-place. "I shall never forget," says the writer in *The Varsity*, "that ride on a stretcher, borne by soldiers of the 47th Regiment, from Yonge Street wharf to my home. The bearers marched all the way through a dense crowd, which filled the

whole street from side to side; and on reaching the house, crowded in with expressions of sympathy and offers of assistance.

"That Sunday was one such as Toronto had never seen before. The most contradictory rumours were afloat in the city. The churches presented a most extraordinary spectacle. Instead of the usual attendance of quiet worshippers—of the hymn of praise, the calm discourse—the attendant throng was assembled in deep humiliation and earnest prayer. I doubt whether a single sermon was preached in Toronto that day. Excited people came rushing into the churches and announcing the latest news from the front. Then a prayer would be offered up by the pastor, or the congregation would bow their heads in silent supplication. The merchants, on word being received that the volunteers were suffering from want of food, ransacked their warehouses for supplies to be sent to the front by the steamer that was to go to Port Dalhousie that afternoon for the dead and wounded; and all the young men were hastening to the front. May our good city long be spared the repetition of such scenes.

"After the first excitement in Toronto was over, in which the Queen's Own were exalted into heroes, it became much the fashion, owing perhaps partly to the self-depreciation of the 'heroes' themselves, to speak slightly of the action in which they had been engaged, and of their conduct in that action. People felt that what had been magnified into a battle was merely a skirmish, insignificant in comparison with one of the great pitched battles of the American war, free from the terrible carnage caused by shells and cannon-balls, and with no cavalry charges. After the removal of the fear of Fenian invasion, the disgrace of the defeat and panic began to be felt, the creditable part of the transaction began to be forgotten, and it became the fashion, and is still the fashion, even among those who participated in the engagement, to speak slightly of the behaviour of the men. It was forgotten that these men had advanced against an equal, if not a superior number of enemies, who had more than one immense advantage over them. The Fenians were men who had been often under fire, and whom custom had familiarized, not only with military movements and their meaning, but also with the noises and sights of war, and of death in many forms. They were, of course, desperate men, whose very existence as a body depended on their success in this engagement. They were commanded by efficient and experienced officers; and, finally, they fired from good cover, our men being in the open field. And yet our men, when ordered to extend and advance, executed these movements as steadily and expeditiously as when on parade."

The remarks in the last paragraph above quoted are thoroughly sensible and discriminating, and there can be no manner of doubt that Toronto has abundant reason for feeling proud of her Queen's Own. It is no reproach to that gallant corps that they were seized by panic at Ridgeway. Similar experiences have befallen more than one regiment of the line, whose achievements have since filled glorious chapters in the history of England. The military history of every nation, indeed, is full of such instances. The ignominious retreat at Bull Run was followed by such deeds of derring-do as Leonidas and his Three Hundred need not have scorned to achieve. It is the same with the private soldier as with the regiment. The first experience of being under fire is a trial to the nerves of the bravest. Read the personal experiences of young Arthur Wellesley, and a score of other less known heroes. Tecumseh himself, the owner of as dauntless a heart as ever beat in human breast, is said to have wheeled about and fled at the fire of the enemy on the occasion of his first battle.

The *Globe* of Monday, the 4th., gives the following account of the circumstances attending the arrival of the steamer *City of Toronto* at the wharf on the previous evening, with the dead and wounded :—
“The vessel was expected to reach Yonge Street wharf about 9.30 p.m. Long before that hour, however, a continuous stream of people from every quarter of the city poured along our principal streets towards the foot of Yonge Street, the steamer's landing place. A common impulse seemed to influence the public mind. Every inhabitant seemed to experience an incumbent duty to render to the dead and wounded representatives of our brave volunteers an unmistakable tribute of sympathy and gratitude. Rich and poor, vigour and infirmity, budding youth and venerable old age, were each and all represented in the dense crowd which occupied every available standpoint of the approaches to the wharf on which the vessel was to deposit our dead and maimed citizen soldiers. Owing to unavoidable delay and an adverse wind, the steamer did not reach her landing so early as was expected. Towards nine o'clock, however, several hearses, and stretchers borne by soldiers of the 47th Regiment, were brought to the wharf. A company of volunteers guarded the entrance to the wharf. The police were actively engaged in keeping back the more eager and curious of the crowd, while several members of the medical profession were in ready attendance to render any service in their power to the wounded passengers. Before ten o'clock she hove in sight, and shortly after came to her moorings. We immediately went on board, and a sorry spectacle met our gaze. At

one end of the vessel lay arranged together the rough coffins enclosing the dead. Near the other, laid on couches and shakedowns, tenderly and thoughtfully cared for, were the wounded. No word of complaint escaped them as they were severally removed by strong arms and feeling hearts to the cab or the stretcher as their ease might require. Ten were severely wounded, and were carefully sent to the hospital; the remainder were sent to their respective homes. While the wounded were being thus disposed of, the dead were deposited in hearses and carried to their several destinations. The coffins in which they were enclosed were formed of rough pine timber, the name of the sleeping occupant being chalked on the cover."

The dead brought to the city on this occasion were five in number. They included Ensign Malcolm McEachren, No. 5 Company, "Queen's Own" Rifles; Private Christopher Alderson, No. 7 Company; Private William Fairbanks Tempest, No. 9 Company; Private Mark Defries, No. 3 Company; and Private William Smith, No. 3 Company.

Two other members of the "Queen's Own" were also numbered among the honoured dead, but as their homes were not in Toronto their bodies were not brought hither. They were Private Malcolm McKenzie, of Woodstock, and Private J. H. Mewburn, of Drummondville. Both of them were members of No. 9 Company. A public funeral was accorded to each of them, and suitable memorials have been erected over their remains.

Ensign McEachren was the first to fall on the field of honour. He was well known and highly esteemed by a wide circle of friends in Toronto, and when news of his death reached the city, tears arose unbidden in many eyes unused to weep. The dead man had been a husband and father, and a chorus of sympathy for the bereaved wife and five fatherless children arose on every side.

It was a foregone conclusion that the city should do honour to the remains of the five gallant Torontonians who had fallen, by according to them a public funeral, with appropriate civic and military ceremonials. It took place on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 5th. The following description of it is adapted from a contemporary pamphlet:—

"During the forenoon the bodies of Corporal Defries and Private Alderson were carried in procession from their late residences to the drill-shed. The flight of steps at the east of the shed and the wall behind were draped in black, and the platform was constructed in front for the reception of the coffins. These were exposed for several hours, to allow the citizens to view the remains of the gallant men. The coffin of Ensign

McEachren occupied the middle and front position, covered with the Union Jack ; that of Corporal Defries was placed on the right, and that of Private Smith on the left, each draped with the banners of the respective Orange Lodges to which they had belonged. The coffins of Privates Alderson and Tempest were placed behind and above, covered with flags. At 3.20 the catafalque, which was to carry the remains to their place of burial, arrived, and they were placed upon it by the escort of the 'Queen's Own' who had accompanied their fallen comrades to the city. The procession started from the drill-shed at 3.50, in the following order :

Band of the 47th Regiment.

Firing Party.

Officiating Clergymen.

Remains of

Ensign McEachren,

Corporal Defries,

Private Smith,

Private Alderson,

Private Tempest.

Mourners :

Funeral Committee.

Third Battalion of the Fifth Military District.

Privates and Non-commissioned Officers of the Army.

Officers of Volunteers, according to rank.

Officers of the Army, according to rank.

Major-General Napier, and Staff.

Mayor and Corporation.

Citizens on foot.

. Carriages.

"The procession moved up Simeoe Street to King, along King Street to Parliament Street, and up Parliament to St. James's Cemetery, the band of the 47th Regiment playing the Dead March, and the bells of the city tolling. An immense concourse of people thronged the streets, and every window along the line of march was crowded by mournful countenances. The shops were all closed, and a majority of the citizens wore badges of mourning. The procession was about half a mile in length. On arriving at the cemetery, the coffins were taken from the catafalque and placed on the steps leading to the church, and the Llyodtown Rifle Company ranged themselves on each side as a firing party. The burial service of the

Church of England was read by the Rev. Mr. Grasett, Rector of St. James's Cathedral, the Rev. Mr. Boddy, Curate of the Cemetery Chapel, and the Rev. Mr. Williams, garrison chaplain. The musical service was conducted by Mr. Carter and the choir of St. James's Cathedral, and consisted of the introductory sentence, 'I am the Resurrection and the Life,' chanted while the corpses were being removed from the catafalque; the anthem 'I heard a voice from Heaven'; and the hymn, 'Nearer, my God, to Thee.' The service over, six volleys were fired over the remains of the dead, and they were removed to the vault of the chapel. The immense concourse then slowly moved away and dispersed. Never, perhaps, has such an imposing funeral procession been seen in this city."

The *Globe* published an editorial article on the occasion which is well worth extracting, as expressive of the universal sentiment of the time: "Not alone Toronto," ran the article, "but the whole Upper Province paid reverence on Tuesday to the brave men who died on Lime Ridge. We have reports from several towns that bells tolled and business closed during the hours employed in burying the honoured dead. But Toronto, their home, the place of birth of most of them, where all were educated; the place where they left a short five days ago in health and strength, amidst the plaudits of the people; the place to which, doubtless, their thoughts turned in their last moments; it well behooved our city to pay honour to those who died in its defence—and fitting honours were paid. The time for preparation was short, and few and simple were the ceremonies of the occasion. The tribute was paid, not with nodding plumes or ornamented catafalques, but with the deep-felt sorrow, sympathy and admiration of a whole people. Though the weather was specially unfavourable, the funeral was of immense extent. But that formed but a small portion of the scene. The streets were lined with solemn gazers as the funeral car passed by. Every window was occupied; all business was suspended; the whole city, distracted as it was by the excitement of the time, was given up to grief. Tears from the heart were shed, and prayers went up to heaven that the mourning relatives might be comforted and consoled.

"We have buried our dead; but the lesson which they have taught us in their fall will live long after all who were present at the ceremonies of yesterday have followed them to the tomb. It is a lesson of devotion to country, which, when deeply learned by a people, produces glorious results. Our brave fellows died to save our country from being overrun by a horde of robbers; but, beyond that, to preserve to us institutions and laws, attachments and sympathies, hopes and aspirations, all in fact

that is dear apart from family ties, to an intelligent population. On their tombs the people of Canada will record anew their determination to yield no jot or tittle of their birthrights, to hold fast the tie on the mother land which distinguishes them, and proudly distinguishes them from the other nations of this continent. Behind the mask of sympathy for Irish wrongs, there lurks a desire to force this country into a political connection with their neighbour by means of border troubles. If any one should ever be tempted to yield to such a pressure, the recollection of the men who fell at Lime Ridge will banish forever the despicable thought. The autonomy of British America, its independence of all control save that to which its people willingly submit, is cemented by the blood shed in battle on the 2nd of June.

"There is but one more lesson of the day, and it is hardly necessary to call attention to it, as the work which is demanded has already been begun. We need hardly say that no widow nor orphan, no helpless relative of any of the deceased, no wounded man, incapable of labour, must suffer loss which money can replace."

Within a week after this sad, solemn funeral, two others of our citizens were added to the list of those who fell in defending our soil from desecration. They were Serjeant Hugh Matheson and Corporal F. Lackey, both members of No. 2 Company of the "Queen's Own." They had been grievously wounded at Ridgeway, but had lingered for a few days afterwards, Serjeant Matheson dying on Saturday, the 9th, and Corporal Lackey on Monday, the 11th. Their remains were interred with suitable honours in St. James's Cemetery on Wednesday, the 13th. As on the occasion of the previous funeral on the 5th, business was for the time entirely suspended throughout the city, and hundreds of house-fronts along the line of march were draped in mourning. It may truly be said that Toronto honoured herself by the honours she conferred upon the remains of the brave fellows who had fallen at Ridgeway.

Several other raids took place along the easterly frontier within a few days after the demonstration at Fort Erie, but they were easily repelled, and did not give rise to any serious anxiety. The expense of opposing these various incursions, however, was considerable, and might have been avoided had the United States authorities done their duty from the first, by preventing the drilling and massing of troops for the avowed purpose of invading Canada. But the republic had a good memory, and had not forgotten England's "neutrality" during their own great trouble, when the *Habomia* had been fitted out in an English port to make war on United States commerce. Canada submitted without serious murmur-

ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF TORONTO, 1884

ST PATRICK'S WARD



ST ANDREWS WARD

ings to the inevitable consequences of her geographical position, and the social and political complications of the time, but she felt her loss of precious lives very keenly, and testified her grief by raising an imposing monument in honour of the fallen. It stands in our beautiful Queen's Park, at a spot near to where converging paths meet, at the top of the gentle declivity which slopes down to the bridge leading across the creek to the grounds of the University. Every resident of Toronto is familiar with its appearance. A description of it, together with a brief account of the ceremony of unveiling, will be given in the proper place. The Province further expressed its sense of what was due to the honoured dead by awarding suitable pensions for the support of the widows and orphans who had thus cruelly and untimely been bereaved.

During the year 1866 the municipal law of the Province underwent a change which did away with the election of mayors in cities by the direct vote of the people. By the Acts 29 & 30 Vic., chapters 51 and 52, the election of the Chief Magistrate was in cities re-vested in the Corporation. The office of Councilman was abolished, and the number of Aldermen was increased to three for each ward instead of two. The latter were to hold office for three years, one retiring annually by rotation. Provision was made that after the first election it should be determined by ballot, under the direction of the City Clerk, who should retire in the first, second and third years respectively, "which ballot, being taken, entitled the members to hold office, the first named for three years, the second for two, and the last for one year." The first election held under this new order of things was that of January, 1867, when Mr. James E. Smith was elected to the mayoralty.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONFEDERATION.—BIRTHDAY OF THE DOMINION IN TORONTO.—REFORM CONVENTION IN THE MUSIC HALL.—TORONTO THE CAPITAL OF ONTARIO.—OPENING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIRST PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT OF ONTARIO—MR. HOWLAND APPOINTED LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.—LORD MONCK SUCCEEDED BY SIR JOHN YOUNG.—VISIT OF PRINCE ARTHUR.—THE YORK PIONEERS.

OR several years before this time the great project of Confederation had been steadily advancing towards maturity, and on the first of July, 1867, the birthday of the New Dominion was celebrated throughout the land with much fervour and enthusiasm. How much of the enthusiasm was due to the accomplishment of Confederation—the nature of which was as yet comparatively little understood—and how much was due to the delightful weather and a new national holiday, need not be enquired into. The fact remains that the day was celebrated in Toronto with many apparent symptoms of rejoicing. Indeed, the local newspapers of the period refer to the day as being marked by one continued succession of rejoicings. "As the birthday of the Dominion," says the *Globe*, "it was universally hailed. Young and old, male and female, marked the day as a distinguished one in the history of our city, as well as of the Dominion of Canada, and kept it accordingly. Even before the first of July had actually commenced, crowds of citizens awaited the advent of the joyous occasion that was to be ushered in by a peal from St. James's, the first stroke of the ponderous bass in the tower of the cathedral being the signal for the rejoicings to commence. As this struck twelve at midnight, bonfires were lighted at the corners of our principal streets, and King Street especially, till daylight, was one series of beacon lights in honour of the event. The bells in St. James's cheered the merry holiday-makers by ringing out with all their vigour the National Anthem, 'Hurrah for Canada,' 'Rule Britannia,' and other airs. At the same time rockets and other species of fireworks illuminated the sky in all directions, and small arms and cannon made the night alive with their unceasing uproar. Between one

and two o'clock the crowds began to thin off, but some ardent citizens paraded the streets till day-break, singing the praises of the day."

As might have been expected, a day begun under such auspices was celebrated with fitting enthusiasm to its close. There was a complete suspension of business of all kinds. Early in the morning the houses on the leading thoroughfares were gaily decorated with flags, and the vessels in the harbour were decked out with a profusion of bunting. The weather was very pleasant, the heat of the sun being agreeably tempered by a fresh breeze from the lake. The streets soon began to present an animated appearance, with crowds of people wending their way in all directions in search of recreation and pleasure. From that time till long after dark they were filled with joyous thousands belonging to town and country. The holiday seemed to be thoroughly enjoyed by all, and nothing unpleasant occurred to mar its festivities. Although many townspeople took advantage of the cheap excursion trips by land and water to spend the day elsewhere, their places were more than filled by "country cousins," who came trooping in from all quarters. The propeller *America* brought over two or three hundred from St. Catharines, and the *Rothesay Castle* a goodly number from Hamilton, while the early trains on all the railways brought in thousands from the neighbouring country. These soon spread themselves over the city, and their happy faces could be seen on all sides. The chief excursion out of the city was that by the steamer *City of Toronto* to Niagara Falls. In the afternoon the steamer *Rothesay Castle* made two trips around the island, passing out through the eastern gap, and returning by the western entrance to the harbour. On both occasions she was heavily laden with passengers, who seemed to enjoy keenly the pure air and cooling breeze of the lake. The steamer *Bouquet* made half-hourly trips to the island, and on each occasion carried over as many as she could accommodate. The bay was almost covered with yachts and small boats, and there were many very pleasant minor excursions to points of interest in the neighbourhood of the city.

All the pleasant suburbs were thronged with pic-nic parties during the day, and even up to a late hour in the evening. A grand military review was held at the review grounds in the north-western part of the city, and those grounds were the centre of attraction for an immense multitude, desirous of witnessing the first field-day of the army of the new Dominion. In the evening an entertainment was given in the Queen's Park, which presented a truly splendid appearance from the innumerable Chinese lanterns and other illuminations which were suspended from the trees, and in front of the private residences. There was an imposing display

of fireworks, and almost the entire park was crowded. As for the streets, they were thronged with people until past midnight. The post-office and some others of our public buildings were illuminated with much taste, several of the designs being emblematic of the occasion. A high-class concert was given in the Horticultural Gardens, and was attended by more than three thousand persons. Take it for all in all, the first celebration of the natal day of the Dominion in Toronto was a something to be remembered by every one who took part in it. Never had the city presented such signs of universal gayety and festivity since the visit of the Prince of Wales nearly seven years before.

Four days before Dominion Day—on the 27th of June—the great Reform Convention of 1867 held its first session in the Toronto Music Hall. The object sought to be attained by it was stated to be : “To rejoice over the great success attending their (*i.e.*, the Reformers’) past labours, and to adopt measures for securing the correction of the abuses so long deplored by the Reform party, and for the infusion of those sound Reform principles into the daily administration of public affairs, to secure which the constitutional changes now achieved were so long and earnestly laboured for. . . . For consultation and friendly intercourse among prominent men of the party; and to afford an opportunity of consolidating the party and harmonizing the views of those who were temporarily estranged by the events of late years.”

Everybody recalls that memorable Convention, whereat the two Reform members of the new Coalition Government presented themselves by special invitation, and were for the time “read out of the ranks of the Reform party.” The proceedings were continued on the 28th, when a number of important resolutions were passed, and several gentlemen who have since won high recognition in public life for the first time appeared before the world in the character of politicians. The delegates numbered between 600 and 700. The Hon. George Brown and the Hon. William McDougall were pitted against each other on the platform, and as each of them spoke with even more than his ordinary eloquence and vigour, it may safely be declared that the audience did not want for entertainment. It was on this occasion that the oft-referred-to resolution against coalitions was carried. It was expressed in the following words: “That coalitions of opposing political parties, for ordinary administrative purposes, inevitably result in the abandonment of principle by one or both parties to the compact, the lowering of public morality, lavish public expenditure, and widespread corruption ; that the coalition of 1864 could only be justified on the ground of imperious necessity, as the only avail-

able mode of obtaining just representation for the people of Upper Canada, and on the ground that the compact then made was for a specific measure and a stipulated period, and was to come to an end as soon as the measure was attained: and while the Convention is thoroughly satisfied that the Reform party has acted in the best interests of the country by sustaining the Government until the Confederation measure was secured, it deems it an imperative duty to declare that the temporary alliance between the Reform and Conservative parties should now cease, and that no Government will be satisfactory to the people of Upper Canada which is formed and maintained by a coalition of public men holding opposite political principles."

When Confederation came into existence, Toronto became the capital of the Province of Ontario. The Federal Government appointed Major-General Henry William Stisted first Lieutenant-Governor. He was duly sworn into office, the duties of which he assumed on the birthday of the Dominion. Our city has ever since been the seat of the Local Government, and the place of assembling of the Provincial Parliament. The first Local Government was formed by the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald in July, 1867. It was a Coalition Government, and consisted of Mr. Macdonald himself, who was Premier and Attorney-General; the Hon. John Carling, Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works; the Hon. Stephen Richards, Commissioner of Crown Lands; the Hon. Edmund Burke Wood, Provincial Treasurer; and the Hon. Matthew Crooks Cameron, Provincial Secretary and Registrar. The local elections, as well as those for the Dominion, resulted in the return of a majority of members favourable to the Government.

The first session of the First Provincial Parliament of Ontario was opened by Lieutenant-Governor Stisted in the afternoon of the 27th of December, 1867. As the occasion was an important one, being signalized by the inauguration of a new order of things in our Provincial polities, it may not be amiss to give some account of the ceremonial observed. Such an account is easily supplied, for the details are given by the Toronto newspapers of the time with great minuteness. The ceremony of swearing in the members took place between one and two o'clock. The oath was administered by Mr. William Henry Boulton and Mr. Charles T. Gillmor, Clerk of the House, who were appointed Commissioners for the purpose. Nearly all the members of the House were present, and were sworn in at the Clerk's table, one at a time, after which they signed their names to the oath of allegiance and took their seats. The approaches to the building were crowded with spectators by half-past two

o'clock, in expectation of seeing a brilliant turn-out upon the arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor. The large steps in front of the main entrance were crowded to excess, but the populace were prevented from entering the building by stalwart hussars, who were posted at the doors. There were in all between two and three thousand spectators in attendance, the majority of whom were of course compelled to remain outside the building. The guard of honour was formed of the 10th Royals, the Grand Trunk battalion, and the Queen's Own Rifles. The latter were stationed at the Governor's residence, on the corner of Portland and Front Streets, where they remained as a guard of honour till his return from the House. The bands of the Royals and of the Grand Trunk battalion were also in attendance.

Between two and three o'clock the scene which presented itself inside the chamber was one of considerable interest. The strangers' gallery was crowded as full of spectators as it could hold. On the floor of the House, in front of the Speaker's chair, were seated Chief Justice Draper, Chief Justice Richards, Justices Adam Wilson, John Wilson, Morrison and Hagarty, Chancellor Vankoughnet, Vice-Chancellors Mowat and Spragge, Sheriff Jarvis, Recorder Duggan, the Reverend Doctors McCaul, Ryerson, and Barelay, Rural Dean Grasett, Bishop Lynch, Bishop Walsh, and the Rev. Mr. Jamot. Among others present on the floor of the House were the Hon. Robert Spence, Mr. R. A. Harrison, M. P., Senator Christie, and Mr. (now the Hon. Alexander) Mackenzie, M. P. Not for many years had there been such a heterogeneous mustering of old and new political and social forces in Toronto. The *Leader* of the following day took occasion to moralize on the suggestive scene after this fashion:—"Among those present yesterday as spectators at the opening of the House were several judicial dignitaries who had themselves, in their day, borne a leading part in Parliamentary contests. Some of them, it is probable, had not been present at the opening of a session of the Legislature since their retirement many long years ago; but they came yesterday to add *éclat* to the opening of a new Legislature for that part of the Dominion which is identical, in its geographical limits, with the late Province of Upper Canada. Many old recollections must have been revived by the scene; the memory must have gone back, for the moment, to the days when the Hagermans and the Bidwells, the Drapers, the Rolphs, the Baldwins, the Strachans, the Mackenzies, the MacNabs, the Hinckses and their several friends and opponents struggled for the mastery. There, too, was Dr. Ryerson, a stalwart political gladiator whose weapon was the pen, now venerable with years. It might form a profitable study to enquire why

so many of those old time politicians who were present yesterday retired so early from the political arena, abstracting their accumulated experience from the common stock, and like retiring partners in mercantile life, leaving the firm so much the weaker by the capital they withdrew. The subject is both suggestive and tempting; but we cannot pursue it."

Lieutenant-Governor Stisted arrived shortly before three o'clock, in his carriage, drawn by four horses. He was received with a royal salute and the playing of the band of the Royals. Upon arriving in front of the main entrance the carriage halted for a moment, and was then driven to the Speaker's private door in the east wing, where the Governor alighted and proceeded to the Legislative Chamber. He was followed by a large number of regular and volunteer officers, together with officers of the Government, the whole forming a brilliant staff. Upon entering the Legislative Chamber, his Honour took the chair designed for the presiding officer of the House. The mace was then placed upon the table by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and the Clerk, being in attendance in his seat, the Provincial Secretary, the Hon. M. C. Cameron, rose and made the announcement usually made upon the first assembling of a new Parliament, to the effect that the Governor did not see fit to declare the causes of summoning Parliament until the members had chosen a Speaker. The Governor then withdrew, the mace was removed from the table, and the Assembly proceeded to choose a Speaker. The choice fell upon Mr. John Stevenson, member for Lennox, whose candidature was proposed by the Premier, Mr. Macdonald, and seconded by Mr. Carling, Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works. The Speaker elect was then duly inducted into his place, and the ceremonial was at an end. The formal opening, and the delivery of the Speech from the Throne, took place on the following day. And thus the first Ontario Parliament was started on its career. It sat until the 4th of March following.

Mr. J. E. Smith was re-elected to the Chief Magistracy of Toronto in 1868, and occupied that position throughout the year. On the 14th of July, Major-General Stisted ceased to direct the administration of provincial affairs in Ontario. He was succeeded by the Hon. William Pearce Howland, one of the most successful and best known of the merchant princes of Toronto, who for some years previously had taken a leading part in political affairs. The same year witnessed the departure of Lord Monck, and the arrival of a new Governor-General. Lord Monck's original term of office had been extended, in order that the Confederation project might be fairly launched under his auspices. His services obtained due recognition at the hands of the Imperial Government, and he was

created a peer of the United Kingdom—he had previously been merely an Irish peer—by the title of Baron Monck of Ballytrammion, in the County of Wexford. He left Canada in November, and during the same month his successor arrived, in the person of Sir John Young, an Irish baronet who had sat in the Imperial House of Commons for the County of Cavan, and had subsequently administered successively the government of the Ionian Islands and of New South Wales.

In the beginning of 1869, Mr. Samuel Bickerton Harman, an old and much-respected citizen of Toronto, was elected by the Council to the Civic Chair. He was re-elected in the year following. Owing to his absence in England during a part of his second term, the Council was temporarily presided over by Mr. George D'Arey Boulton.

The great social event of the year 1869 in Toronto was the visit of His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, the third son of Her Majesty the Queen. The Prince had been gazetted to a corps which was then stationed in Canada, and he reached Halifax from Liverpool by the steamer *City of Paris* on the 22nd of August. The country was eager to give him welcome and honour, and a considerable part of the ensuing autumn was spent by him in paying visits to the principal cities and towns of the Dominion. Towards the end of September he reached London, Ontario, where he opened the Provincial Exhibition. From London he proceeded to Niagara Falls and Buffalo, and took Toronto in on his way back to Montreal, where he passed the winter with his regiment. He arrived in Toronto at four o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the 2nd of October, by the Great Western train from Hamilton. He was accompanied by the Governor-General, Lady Young, and a numerous suite. Preparations for his reception had been in progress for some days, and the demonstration in his honour almost vied with that held in honour of the Prince of Wales nine years before. A number of magnificent triumphal arches were erected on some of the principal thoroughfares, and the city was decked out in its most pleasing garb. A dense crowd, including all that was wealthy and fashionable in Toronto—together with much that was neither—awaited the arrival of the train at the station. Arrangements had been made for a triumphal procession from the point of arrival to the City Hall, where the formal reception was to take place. Upon the arrival of the train, His Royal Highness stepped from the platform of the railway car, and entered the carriage which had been provided for him, "looking," remarked the *Globe*, "every inch a gentleman." As on the occasion of the Prince of Wales's visit in 1860, the *Globe* distanced all competitors in the

enthusiasm of its welcome to the embodied representative of royalty. Its readers were counselled to mark the occasion down "with the reddest of red ink," among the great events which have come and gone, and which will be to future generations of the people as landmarks in our history." The other newspapers echoed the same strain, and everybody was in a loyal and appreciative mood. "As a resident of Toronto," exclaimed Mayor Harman, at the close of the brilliant demonstration, "I am proud of it this day."

The Prince's progress through the streets to the place appointed was one continuous and hearty ovation all along the route. As the procession started on its way from the station, says a contemporary account, "the crowd sent up a great shout—a shout such as must have come from loyal hearts only. And then there was a moment's disorder. The Prince had seated himself in the carriage; the people had overwhelmed the whole, even as a sea breaks down all obstructions, and rushes over the unprotected fields. Aldermen were scrambling in the most undignified manner into their conveyances; order was for the moment lost; and Mr. Carr, the City Clerk, marshal of the procession, with baton of office in hand, and wearing the distinguishing red scarf and favours, which became his portly presence so well, issued unheeded directions till he was hoarse." Order was soon evolved out of the chaos, and the procession moved on. Every window on Yonge, King and Market streets was tenanted by as many people as could squeeze themselves into the available space. Balconies were crowded to a dangerous extent, and the streets were literally alive with people. In the little journey from the railway station to the City Hall there must have been 30,000 to 35,000 people looking on, and among them all, as the Prince passed, there was not the slightest sign of bad temper or confusion, but each individual seemed to vie with his neighbour as to who should show the greatest respect and loyalty, and at the same time preserve the fair name of our Province for courtesy and good order.

Upon reaching the City Hall the guests proceeded to the Council Chamber, where the reception was accompanied by the delivery of addresses to the Governor and the Prince, each of whom responded in suitable terms. It was remarked that the Mayor, Mr. Harman, read the addresses on behalf of the citizens with much grace and dignity, insomuch that on the following morning he was complimented by the newspapers on his elocutionary powers. After the delivery of the addresses, and the replies thereto, three cheers were given for the Queen, Sir John Young, Prince Arthur, the Lieutenant-Governor, Lady Young and Mrs. Howland.

The party then returned to their carriages, and proceeded to Government House, where H. R. H. remained as an honoured guest during his stay in the city. His stay extended over about four days, during which time there was a continual round of receptions and festivities. "When the historian of some future age shall seek material for his work in the annals of our country," said the *Globe*, editorially, in its issue of Monday, the 4th, "the visits of the sons of Britain's Sovereign to the shores of our lakes will form salient points, and mark eras that will not be overlooked in the history of Canada. . . . We have among us at this moment a younger son of her whom we are proud to call our Queen, and the greeting with which we have hailed his visit is but the reflection of the sentiment we entertain for the lady who is alike his sovereign and our own." The visit of Prince Arthur was referred to as bearing a significance which it would be unwise to disregard. "It is asserted," continued the editor, "by many abroad who are ignorant of our position, and by an insignificant clique in our own Dominion, actuated by selfish motives, that our welfare and advancement depend upon our renouncing allegiance to Great Britain, and starting in some as yet undefined direction on our own responsibility. That such statements are untrue we have before now shown, and the bearing of the people towards Prince Arthur makes manifest how little effect they have had upon the public mind of Canada. Our sentiments towards the mother country cannot be mistaken by those who seek to know the truth, and it is undeniable that in whatever form the future connection between Great Britain and her colonies may be resolved upon by those competent to decide, Canada will be found foremost among those who desire to strengthen the ties that natural affection, natural assistance, similarity of ideas and identity of sympathy may select as best calculated to cement the union of the British Empire."

Such remarks as these have a special significance at the present time. There can be no doubt that they fairly represented the current of public opinion in Canada fifteen years ago. There can be equally little doubt that public opinion has undergone very material advancement during the interval, and that, while at the present day there is no want of hearty good will in the Dominion towards the mother country, there is a widespread feeling in favour of a separate national existence for ourselves.

On Tuesday, the 5th, the royal party proceeded to Weston, where the Prince cut the first sod of the Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway. On the morning of Wednesday, the 6th, they took their departure from among us, and proceeded eastward, whither it is unnecessary that we should follow them.

It was during this same year (1869) that the society known as the York Pioneers was founded. The object of its foundation, as stated in its constitution, was "for the purpose of more intimately uniting in friendly relations those who are natives of, or who emigrated to, the original County of York, in the former Province of Upper Canada, or to this city previous to its incorporation, March 6th, 1834, and change of name from York to Toronto, and their descendants on attaining the age of forty years; and for preserving and perpetuating, by re-publication and otherwise, such historical recollections and incidents, documents and pictorial illustrations relating to the early settlement of this county and city as aforesaid, as are worthy of being rescued from oblivion; and by the contribution of communications on these and kindred subjects to be read at the meetings of the Society, and afterwards printed in the public journals and otherwise." The association holds meetings on the first Tuesday of every month, in the building of the Canadian Institute, on Richmond Street East. The list of membership includes about four hundred names, including those of some of our leading local historians and topographers.

CHAPTER IX.

UNVEILING OF THE VOLUNTEER MONUMENT.—THE HEROES COMMEMORATED BY IT.—COMMERCIAL PROGRESS OF THE CITY.—ASPECT OF THE STREETS.—A MODERN DIogenes ON “DOING KING.”—THE CENSUS OF 1871.—A NEW MINISTRY IN ONTARIO.—RAPID ADVANCE IN POPULATION AND MERCANTILE IMPORTANCE.—LORD LISGAR SUCCEEDED BY LORD DUFFERIN.—THE HON. D. A. MACDONALD BECOMES LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF ONTARIO.—MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

REERENCE has been made on a former page* to the monument erected in the Queen's Park to the memory of the victims of the Fenian raid on the Niagara frontier in June, 1866. The public unveiling of this monument took place on the fourth anniversary of the birth of the Dominion—the first of July, 1870. The ceremony was performed by His Excellency the Governor-General, who was then on a visit to Toronto. Immediately after the funeral of the brave men who fell at Ridgeway, a committee was formed in Toronto for the purpose of providing some permanent tribute to their memory. Of this committee Dr. McCaul was appointed Chairman, and Mr. C. S. Gzowski, Treasurer. From the report of Mr. J. D. Edgar, Honorary Secretary to this Committee, it appears that donations were received from every Province of the Dominion, from the County Councils of York, Peel, Huron and Lambton, from the City Council of Toronto, and from several township councils. The rest of the necessary fund was made up from private subscriptions throughout the country, and from an appropriation by the Toronto Volunteer Relief Committee. The Queen's Park was fixed upon as the site, and artists were invited to send in designs. The invitations were complied with, and from a number of meritorious views, that of Mr. Robert Reid, of the firm of Mavor & Co., of the Montreal Sculpture and Marble Works, was selected. Messrs. Mavor & Co. subsequently undertook and satisfactorily carried out the contract for the monument itself. All this was the work of about four years, and Dominion Day, 1870, was fixed upon as the date for the final ceremonial. That portion of the Park in the neighbourhood of the

* *Ante*, p. 291.

monument was thronged with spectators, and on a dais immediately adjoining it were many leading residents of Toronto. The Volunteer corps of the city, consisting of the Queen's Own, the 10th Royals and the Grand Trunk Brigade, were all drawn up in military array. The Governor-General made his appearance promptly at noon, the hour fixed upon, and after the reading of the Secretary's report, and a short speech by his Excellency, the latter proceeded to unveil the monument, amid loud cheers from the large assemblage. Eloquent speeches were then delivered by the Hon. M. C. Cameron and Dr. McCaul, and the ceremony was over.

Differences of opinion prevail as to the artistic merits of this monument, but the general effect must be admitted to be eminently satisfactory and pleasing. The structure is in three stories, surmounted by a figure of Britannia, with spear and shield. The height of the entire structure, independently of the terrace of earth-work on which it stands, is thirty-six feet. The earth-work is four feet high, so that Britannia looks down from a height of about forty feet from the ground. The steps and base are composed of Montreal limestone, and the remainder, with the exception of the statues, of Nova Scotia sandstone. The statuary is cut from the white veined variety of Italian marble commonly used for the better class of garden statues. The first story is decorated at the corners with carved trusses, ornamented with laurel wreaths, and contains four panels, one on each side. The front, or eastern panel, bears the Royal Arms of Great Britain, carved in bold relief. The right-hand panel displays the arms of Toronto, the left-hand panel those of Hamilton. The rear, or western panel, bears the following inscription:—

CANADA
ERECTED THIS MONUMENT
AS A MEMORIAL
OF HER BRAVE SONS, THE VOLUNTEERS
WHO FELL AT LIMERIDGE,
OR DIED FROM WOUNDS RECEIVED IN ACTION,
OR FROM DISEASE CONTRACTED IN SERVICE,
WHILST DEFENDING HER FRONTIER
IN JUNE, 1866.

The whole of the first story is surmounted by an enriched cornice, on which stands the second story, each panel whereof contains a niche holding a statue. The front or eastern statue is a life-size figure of Grief, which thus overlooks the Royal Arms. On the opposite, or western side,

overlooking the inscription, is a figure of Faith, or Religion. On each of the northern and southern sides, overlooking the city arms of Toronto and Hamilton, is the figure of a standing rifleman in easy military attitude. This second story is also surmounted by a cornice. The third story is characterized by small shields, with wreaths and military insignia, above which is the figure of Britannia already mentioned, eight feet four inches in height, and cut from a solid block of marble.

There is no more fitting place than a Memorial Volume to preserve the names of the gallant heroes to whose memory the monument was erected. In addition to the seven volunteers killed in action, and the two who subsequently died, as mentioned in a former chapter, six died from disease contracted during the campaign. They were

Captain and Paymaster John Huston Richey, of the 10th Royals.

Private James Cahill, of the 13th battalion.

Private James H. Morrison, of the Queen's Own.

Private Daniel Baker, of the 13th battalion.

Private M. Prudhomme, of the Hochelaga Light Infantry.

Private Larratt W. Smith, of the 13th battalion.

The soldiers' monument, therefore, commenmorates the deaths of fifteen volunteers.

By this time Toronto had become a very important commercial centre, and had fairly began to dispute with Montreal for the mercantile supremacy of the Dominion as a wholesale market. Her principal streets wore an aspect of staid and unpretentious prosperity. They had begun to spread out indefinitely, and the area of population had been widely and rapidly extended. From the Provincial Lunatic Asylum in the west to far eastward beyond the Don, stretched miles upon miles of more or less densely populated thoroughfares. To the northward, Bloor Street had long ceased to be anything more than a merely nominal boundary line between Toronto and Yorkville. The Esplanade in the city's front had become a hive of railway and general industry. Jarvis street had been beautified and built up with stately private residences. King and Yonge Streets continued to monopolize the lion's share of the retail business, but Front and Wellington Streets had developed into the centre of the wholesale trade, and many large and wealthy establishments had their headquarters there.

So far as to the principal thoroughfares. With respect to those of less note, there was still room for a good deal of improvement. A writer in the *Canadian Illustrated News*, for September 3rd, 1870, indulges in some rather severe remarks on the aspect of our streets, which he describes to be, generally speaking, "either narrow and dirty, with

the light of heaven almost shut out, or broad and wretchedly paved—certainly with a number of sufficiently handsome houses, but at the same time with an undue preponderance of common, and generally having the appearance of being laid out on a sand-flat." He admits, however, that Toronto possesses two principal streets, "sufficiently broad, well-lit, well-paved, and lined with handsome shops." Some of his comments on the social aspect of this street question are very suggestive and entertaining. "Between the two principal streets of the Western capital," he writes, "is a great gulf; not a patent, material gulf of the Curtius kind, but a gulf made by the inflexible laws of fashion and society—a gulf as great as separates Broadway from the Bowery, the Rue de Rivoli from the Rue Montparnasse, or Regent Street and Rotten Row from the humbler thoroughfares of Pentonville and the City Road. The buildings on King Street are grander and greater than their neighbours on Yonge, the shops are larger and dearer; and last, though far from being least, King Street is honoured by the daily presence of the aristocracy, while Yonge is given over to the business man, the middle class, and the beggar. Among the upper classes there is a performance that goes on daily, that is known among habitués as 'doing King.' It consists principally of marching up and down a certain part of the street at a certain hour—performing, as it were, *ko-tow* to the goddess of Fashion, and sacrificing to her sister divinity of Society. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the first stragglers appear on the scene—which extends, perhaps, a quarter of a mile. These consist principally of young ladies whose proper place should be at school, and young men attired in the height of fashion. By the time these ardent devotees have made a few turns, the regular habitués make their appearance, and until six in the evening, one side—for one side only is patronized, is crowded to excess. It is rather considered 'the thing' to patrol King Street in this manner, and of a fine afternoon every one who belongs to the *élite*, as well as many who do not, may be seen perseveringly trudging up and down, no doubt to their own great comfort, and to the intense discomfiture and dismay of others less smiled upon by Nature, or less favoured by their tailors and dressmakers. King Street is, in a sort of way, the great social 'Change, where everybody meets everybody and his wife, where the latest fashions are exhibited, and the last quotations of the matrimonial market exchanged. Would you see the newest styles in hats or panniers? They are to be seen on King Street. Would you know how many young swells are doing nothing for a living? You are sure to find them on King. Would you wish to hear the last imprudence of young Harumsearum, or the progress of Miss Slowcome's engage-

ment. You may be sure that before you have taken half a dozen turns, some convenient, intelligent busybody of your acquaintance will have whispered the facts of the case in your ear, all of which he has 'on the best authority, Sir.' It is on King street that Clelius makes his appointment with Clelia for their afternoon walk; that Thersites, jealousy-stricken, seowls at Adonis, and that Pomponia deprecates the value of her dear friend Amalthea's new silk and trimmings. Here Cornelia, the careful mother, brings out her treasures, and exhibits to the public gaze those desirable lots of which she is so anxious to dispose on advantageous terms. While far above all, Diogenes in his garret—little more roomy or commodious than the ancient tub—looks down upon the motley throng, notices their petty follies and foibles, and thanks his stars that he is not as other men are."

The fourteen years which have elapsed since the foregoing lines were written have been signalized by many changes for the better; but much yet remains to be done in the way of street adornment before Toronto can take rank with cities of her size, wealth and population in the United States.

In the census of 1871, the population of Toronto was set down at 56,092, being an increase of 11,271 during the preceding decade.* The principal nationalities were represented in this aggregate as follows:—English, 21,205; Irish, 24,101; Scotch, 8,212; German, 985; French, 572; Welsh, 85; Russian and Polish, 81; Dutch, 62; Italian, 34; Scandinavian, 20; Swiss, 21. Divided according to religious faiths, the census discloses the following numbers as representing the principal creeds:—Church of England, 20,668; Roman Catholics, 11,881; Wesleyan Methodists, 7,771; Primitive Methodists, 1,019; New Connexion Methodists, 410; Episcopal Methodists, 162; Baptists, 1,748; Free Will or Christian Baptists, 198; Congregationalists, 1,186; Lutherans, 343; Christian Brethren, 130; Plymouth Brethren, 194; Christian Conference, 234; Irvingites, 118; Jews, 157; Adventists, 21; Tunkers, 7; Bible Believers, 3; Presbyterians (all classes included), 8,982; Quakers, 23; Swedenborgians, 73; Unitarians, 270; Universalists, 12; other denominations, 54; without creed, 66; not given, 108. The analysis according to occupations is worth giving in fuller detail. It shows the following, among other results:—accountants, 299; lawyers, 206; architects, 31; articled apprentices, 123; auctioneers, 10; bakers, 125; barbers, 58; bankers, 20; brokers, 40; blacksmiths, 232; booksellers, 70; bookbinders, 166; box and trunk makers, 41; bricklayers, 184; brickmakers, 23; brewers and distillers, 48; brush and broom-

* *Ante*, p. 228.

ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF TORONTO, 1884.

ST JOHN'S WARD



John Irvin



Henry L. Piper



Thomas Hunter



Thomas A. Hastings



John T. Moore



Mr. Shaw

ST PAUL'S WARD.

makers, 75; builders, 133; butchers, 182; cabmen and carters, 312; cabinet makers, 164; carvers and gilders, 56; carpenters and joiners, 1,099; carriage makers, 69; chemists and druggists, 100; chairmakers, 26; civil engineers, 41; clergymen, 109; commercial clerks, 1,413; commercial travellers, 114; contractors, 26; confectioners, 88; coopers, 71; court officers, 41; dentists, 17; dressmakers and milliners, 628; engineers and mechanicians, 203; engravers and lithographers, 41; foundrymen, 334; gardeners, 125; gentlemen of private means, 183; goldsmiths and jewellers, 90; government employees, 108; grain dealers, 30; grocers, 276; hatters, 36; hotel keepers, 302; labourers, 2,184; laundresses, 91; manufacturers, 376; mariners, 177; merchants, 526; messengers and porters, 225; millers, 30; painters and glaziers, 344; physicians and surgeons, 96; photographers, 41; plasterers, 145; plumbers, 75; printers, 381; railway employees, 301; saddlers, 86; seamstresses, 403; male servants, 452; female servants, 2,420; shoemakers, 683; stone masons, 83; students-at-law, 50; students of medicine, 11; tailors, 504; teachers, 242; watchmakers, 42. The law and medical students above enumerated include, of course, only such as had their permanent homes in Toronto, and not those who were merely fitting themselves for the practice of their professions elsewhere.

As the year 1871 drew towards its close, a change took place in the membership and character of the Provincial Government. The Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, who had held the reins of power continuously ever since Confederation, encountered an adverse vote of the Assembly, arising out of the appropriation by his Government of a large sum for railway subsidies without the sanction of Parliament. He accordingly resigned office on the 19th of December, and Mr. Edward Blake was entrusted by the Lieutenant-Governor with the task of forming a new Administration. Mr. Blake practically accomplished his task on the following day, though there were several subsequent additions and modifications. As finally announced, the new Ministry was composed of the following members:—

The Hon. Edward Blake, Premier and President of the Council.
" " Adam Crooks, Attorney-General.
" " Alexander Mackenzie, Treasurer.
" " Archibald McKellar, Commissioner of Agriculture and Public works.
" " Peter Gow, Secretary and Registrar.
" " R. W. Scott, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

The Ministry then formed by Mr. Blake has since undergone many modifications, and not one of the original members now holds a place in it, but the policy then inaugurated has ever since been the policy of the

Provincial Government, and the Mowat Ministry of to-day is practically a continuation of the Blake Ministry which succeeded to power more than twelve years ago.

During the next three years, Toronto, in common with the Province of Ontario at large, enjoyed an unexampled epoch of prosperity. A remarkable impetus was given to all the usual branches of commerce, and the volume of trade, both wholesale and retail, assumed such proportions as not even the most sanguine had ventured to hope for. More than 13,000 persons were added to the City's population, and both public and private enterprise fully kept pace with this rapid increase. The streets were full of bustle and activity. Mercantile palaces were built by some of the leading wholesale houses, and many of the finest mansions and most beautiful churches in the city were erected. We have since been compelled to encounter the inevitable reaction, but the commercial supremacy acquired by Toronto during those few prosperous years may be regarded as thoroughly established. Ever since that time our city merchants have practically ruled the Provincial market, and whenever our trade is depressed we may be quite sure that it is not in a flourishing condition anywhere in the Dominion.

The assessments of City property increased from \$29,277,138 in 1871, to \$43,462,512 in 1874. It may not be uninteresting to contemplate the increase year by year during this short interval from 1871 to 1874, inclusive. It appears from the following table.

Years.	Realty.	Personalty and Income.	Totals.
1871 . . .	\$22,037,470	\$7,239,665	\$29,277,138.
1872 . . .	24,391,727	8,076,045	32,467,772.
1873	31,925,743	12,840,108	44,765,844.
1874	33,844,535	9,617,977	43,462,512.

Several public events which had occurred in the interim are entitled to brief mention in this place. In June, 1872, Sir John Young—who during his residence in Canada had been created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Lisgar and Baillieborough—was succeeded as Governor-General by Frederick Temple Hamilton-Blackwood, Earl of Dufferin. Lord Dufferin soon became the most popular Governor that has ever been known to the present generation of Canadians, and while his charming manners won for him universal admiration, his eloquence and ability gained him a proportionate amount of respect. In November, 1873, Mr. Howland ceased to be Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and was succeeded by the Hon. D. A. Macdonald.

During the years 1871 and 1872, Mr. Joseph Sheard occupied the position of Chief Magistrate of Toronto. In 1873 he was succeeded by Mr. Alexander Manning. On the 29th of March in this year the Provincial Statute 36 Vic., cap. 48 came into force, whereby the election of Mayors in cities was again vested in the people. Under this statute the Mayor of Toronto has ever since been elected. In 1874 and 1875 the choice of the people was Mr. Francis H. Medcalf, who, it will be remembered, had previously been elected by the popular vote in the years 1864, 1865 and 1866. Mr. Medcalf was absent in England for a considerable part of the year 1875, during which interval the Council was presided over by Alderman John Baxter.

Two additional wards had meanwhile been created in the municipality. In 1873 the Ward of St. Thomas was formed from a part of that of St. David; and in 1875 St. Stephen's Ward was formed from a part of St. Patrick's.

CHAPTER X.

A COMMERCIAL REACTION.—UNIVERSAL DEPRESSION.—PROTECTION VERSUS A REVENUE TARIFF.—THE INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION.—DEPARTURE OF LORD DUFFERIN.—THE MARQUIS OF LORNE AND H. R. H. THE PRINCESS LOUISE.—LORD LANSDOWNE.—MUNICIPAL EVENTS.—POPULATION.—CENSUS OF 1881.—DR. RUSSELL'S LAST VISIT TO TORONTO.—RECENT EVENTS.—CONCLUSION.

HE year 1875 was marked by a very perceptible reaction in the commercial world of Toronto, and of Canada generally. It had begun to be, to some extent, apparent towards the close of the previous year, but it was not until 1875 had fairly set in that it positively forced itself upon public attention. This reaction was due to various causes, and was by no means confined to Canada. There was more or less financial depression throughout the mercantile and manufacturing centres of the world. A period of hard times had set in in the United States in 1873, and it was inevitable that a country having such intimate trade relations therewith as Canada had

and has, must sooner or later feel the reflecting influence. But there were local causes peculiar to ourselves which intensified the situation here, among which may be enumerated over-importation, long credits, and a bad harvest. Toronto, as one of the chief commercial centres of the Dominion, felt the strain early. We had passed through an era of unexampled prosperity, and had begun to indulge in an extravagant style of living, such as was not justified by any merely temporary business success. Towards the end of 1875 the ill effects of the hard times began to be felt in all their stringency, and the outlook was far from encouraging. The next year, 1876, came in very gloomily, and loud murmurs were heard against the trade policy of the Government. The question of protection *versus* a revenue tariff began to engross the public mind, and from that time forward was the chief issue before the country until the change of Government in 1878, and the consequent inauguration of the Tilley tariff. Such matters as these properly belong to the general history of Canada, and it would be out of place to enlarge upon them in these pages, which have no further concern with them than in so far as they affected Toronto. Our city ultimately recovered her wonted volume of trade, since which time her progress has been steadily upward and onward. A comparison of the imports and exports twenty-five years ago with those of last year sets forth very clearly the enormous increase in the business done. In 1858 the total imports amounted to \$3,530,198. Last year they reached \$18,634,451. The value of the exports in 1858 was \$637,177, compared with \$3,481,813 last year.

An event of considerable importance in the city's history was the establishment of the Industrial Exhibition Association, which, during the last five years, has been the means of annually attracting an immense crowd to Toronto. The Association came into being under the following circumstances. In the autumn of 1877, the City Council of Toronto sent a deputation up to London, to attend the annual meeting of the Agricultural and Arts Association, and to urge upon that body Toronto's claim to be the place for the holding of the next Provincial exhibition. The deputation was empowered by the Council to guarantee that Toronto would find the necessary accommodation for the proper holding of the exhibition. During their interviews with members of the Council of the Association, they were plainly told that those members would not vote to go to Toronto unless the deputation would pledge the city to provide new exhibition grounds and buildings, as the accommodation at Toronto, in proportion to the number of visitors, was the poorest of any place at which the exhibitions were held. Acting on the instructions

they had received, the deputation pledged the city to provide the new grounds and buildings, on which, by a narrow majority, Toronto was chosen as against Guelph, which also had an active deputation present, asking that the royal city might be the chosen place. On their return, the deputation reported to the Council the action they had taken, which was approved of. An application was next made by the Council to the Dominion Government for a lease of a portion of the Ordnance land in the western part of the city, for the new exhibition grounds. This application was refused, on the plea that the ground was required for military purposes. Another application was made to another department, and was met by another refusal; but, on a deputation of the Council going to Ottawa, and interviewing the Hon. A. G. Jones, Minister of Militia, and other members of the Government, they succeeded in effecting a lease of sixty acres of land, now known as the Exhibition Park. The Exhibition Committee in the meantime were having the plans prepared for the necessary buildings, and on the consent of the Government being obtained, tenders were invited for the erection of the main building, the agricultural and horticultural buildings, and for the removal of the old stables, and such of the buildings on the old grounds as could be used either in whole or in part; and also for the building of the Strachan Avenue bridges, with other approaches; and the grading and fencing-in of the grounds and roadway at the eastern entrance. Up to this time no objections were made by the citizens to the action of the Council, but on the submission to the citizens of a by-law for an amount necessary to erect the buildings, an organization known as the Property Holder's Association set on foot a vigorous canvass against the measure, and raised an opposition which resulted in the by-law being voted down by the citizens. The Council, however, having in good faith pledged the credit of the city, both to the Association and to the Government, and acting on the advice of the Exhibition Committee, determined to go on with the works, knowing that when the smoke of the battle blew over, and the public were enabled to judge of a completed measure, and to recognise the immense advantages that would result to the city, they would approve of what had been done. The delays inseparable from such a complication left only ninety days from the time the authority of the Council was obtained by the adoption of the Exhibition Committee's report. To a committee less in earnest, this alone would have been sufficient to stop the enterprize, as there were not wanting those who, while professing a confidence in the integrity of purpose and intention of the Committee, were sure that it would not be possible to complete a work

of such magnitude in so short a time. But, thanks to the energetic management of the Committee, and the enterprize and ability of the architects and the contractors for the several works, the buildings were completed, and the next exhibition of the Provincial Association was held in the new buildings at the time advertised. The exhibition was opened by the Governor-General, the Earl of Dufferin, on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 24th of September, 1878.

During the agitation consequent on the decision of the Council to erect the buildings, it was stated in some of the Toronto papers, most of which were in favour of the measure, that if Toronto had accommodation so much superior to other places, the Provincial Association would see the advantage of locating permanently in Toronto. But, although the exhibition was an unqualified success, the annual meeting, by a considerable majority, decided to hold the next exhibition at Ottawa, and to let Toronto wait her turn. This, of course, was a great disappointment to those interested in the matter. At the meeting in question, a vote of thanks was tendered to the City Council for the superior accommodation afforded them, and the name of Mr. John J. Withrow, Chairman of the Exhibition Committee, was coupled with the resolution. Mr. Withrow acknowledged the vote of thanks, but expressed regret at the decision of the meeting in not at least holding two exhibitions in Toronto in succession, so that she might in a measure recoup herself for the large expenditure she had incurred in the preparation of the grounds and the erection of the buildings. He ventured to predict that under some kind of an organization, an exhibition, not inferior to any that had ever been held in Canada, would be held in one year from the date of the meeting. During the succeeding year an organization was formed of representatives appointed by a number of societies and bodies, both local and Provincial, which was duly incorporated under the name of the Industrial Exhibition Association. The prediction made at the time, in the face of many obstacles that seemed almost insurmountable, has been more than fulfilled in the five very successful exhibitions that have since been held; and it is only a matter of simple justice to Mr. Withrow to say that it was mainly by his sleepless energy and untiring exertions that this desirable result was brought about.

In addition to the buildings originally erected by the city, the Association has expended in the erection of new buildings, and in the extension of the existing ones, over \$40,000, and the accommodation is not yet sufficient. The Association has also succeeded in making Toronto the principal exhibition point in the Dominion, and not excelled by any in the United States controlled and managed by local associations, and not

subsidized by either city or Government aid. Such, briefly, is the history of the formation of this organization, shewing conclusively that in this, as in other departments of the city's growth, Toronto's sons have endeavoured to place her in such a position that in this her semi-centennial year they may have no need to feel ashamed of the progress she has made during the last half century.

The opening of the Exhibition of September, 1878, by Lord Dufferin, as above mentioned, was the last public act performed by that nobleman in Toronto. Within a month from that time he had ceased to be Governor-General, and had taken his departure from Canada, accompanied by the regrets of many thousands of our population. He was succeeded by the Marquis of Lorne, who, accompanied by his fair spouse, Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise, arrived in Canada in November. Their first visit to Toronto was paid during the month of September, 1879, when a fitting reception was accorded to them. Last year the Marquis of Lorne was succeeded by Lord Lansdowne, our present Governor-General, who has also been received in Toronto with the welcome due to the representative of Her Majesty the Queen.

There have been few local events of historical importance during the last few years, and any account of them must be compressed within a brief space. In 1876, 1877 and 1878, the late Mr. Angus Morrison was mayor of the city. Mr. Patrick G. Close, one of the three Aldermen for St. Lawrence Ward, presided over the deliberations of the Council for a portion of the year 1877, the Mayor being absent on leave owing to ill health. The mayoralty list may as well be completed here. In 1879 and 1880 the dignity was held by Mr. James Beaty. The following two years—1881 and 1882—it was held by Mr. W. B. McMurrieh; and it has ever since been held by the present occupant, Mr. A. R. Boswell.

On the 30th of June, 1880, the Hon. John Beverley Robinson succeeded the Hon. D. A. Macdonald as Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, and he has ever since been incumbent of that office.

According to the assessors' returns, the population of the city during the preceding six years was as follows:

The assessments during the same period were as follow:—

	Realty.	Personal and income.	Totals.
1875	\$36,560,652	\$9,945,628	\$46,506,280
1876	37,969,401	9,180,851	47,150,362
1877	38,715,253	8,899,140	47,614,393
1878	40,291,884	8,761,881	49,053,765
1879	41,212,757	8,539,735	49,752,492
1880	42,020,155	8,146,484	50,166,639

The population of the city in 1881 was placed by the assessors at 77,034. The Dominion census returns of that year, however, made a much better showing, and placed the population at 86,415, classified by origins as follows:—English and Welsh, 34,819; Irish, 32,177; Scotch, 13,754; Dutch, 163; French, 1,230; German, 2,049; Italian, 104; Russian and Polish, 132; Scandinavian, 80; Spanish and Portuguese, 25; Swiss, 83; African, 593; Indian, 6; other origins, 342; not given, 858. Classified according to religious beliefs, we have the following results:—Adventists, 3; Baptists, 3,979; Brethren, 419; Roman Catholics, 15,716; Church of England, 31,009; Congregationalists, 2018; Jews, 534; Lutherans, 494; Methodists, 16,357; Presbyterians, 14,612; Quakers, 57; other denominations, 648; no religion, 59; not given, 510. Divided into occupations, the analysis is as follows:—Accountants and bookkeepers, 586; architects, 50; artists and littérateurs, 78; auctioneers, 14; bakers, 245; bankers and money brokers, 107; barbers, 123; blacksmiths, 299; boat builders, 32; boiler makers, 49; bookbinders, 337; booksellers and stationers, 74; boot and shoemakers, 824; box and trunk makers, 111; brewers and distillers, 85; bricklayers, 259; brick and tile makers, 37; builders, 291; butchers, 337; cabinet makers, 324; cabmen and draymen, 194; carriage builders, 106; carpenters and joiners, 1,328; carvers and gilders, 136; chemists and druggists, 172; civil engineers, 39; clergymen, 115; commercial travellers, 390; commercial clerks, 2,363; confectioners, 131; contractors, 69; coopers, 81; dairymen, 90; dentists, 32; dressmakers and milliners, 1,338; edge-tool makers, 19; engineers and machinists, 786; engravers and lithographers, 107; factory operatives, 181; foundrymen, 337; fruiters, 63; gardeners and nurserymen, 213; gentlemen of private means, 179; gold and silversmiths, 47; government employees, 203; grocers, 379; hatters and furriers, 95; hotel and boarding-house keepers, 286; labourers, 2,495; land surveyors, 27; laundresses, 181; lawyers, 292; lock and gunsmiths, 27; manufacturers, 156; mariners, 204; messengers and por-

ters, 350; millers, 35; musical instrument makers, 111; musicians, 67; painters and glaziers, 654; photographers, 45; physicians and surgeons, 151; plasterers, 171; plumbers, 223; policemen and constables, 128; printers and publishers, 837; saddle and harness makers, 86; seamstresses, 391; male servants, 431; female servants, 2,888; ship builders, 27; stone and marble cutters, 106; stone masons, 58; students-at-law, 122; students in medicine, 37; tailors and clothiers, 901; male teachers, 160; female teachers, 301; teamsters and drivers, 299; telegraph employees, 122; tin and copper smiths, 273; tobacco makers and dealers, 241.

Dr. William Howard Russell, who had visited Toronto and recorded his impressions of it in 1861, as mentioned on a former page,* again presented himself among us in the month of May, 1881. He formed one of a distinguished company, consisting of the Duke of Sutherland and others, who were making a prolonged tour of the American continent. The somewhat war correspondent of the *Times* was amazed at the progress made by the city during the twenty years which had elapsed since his former visit. The chronicle of the tour has been preserved by him in "Hesperothen; Notes from the West: a Record of a Ramble in the United States and Canada in the spring and summer of 1881." When the party reached Toronto by Grand Trunk train from the east, the rain was pouring down, but even under such unfavourable auspices the travellers were impressed by what they saw as they were driven from the station to the Queen's Hotel. "Toronto," says the Doctor, "seen under the most disadvantageous circumstances, was voted to be very surprising, for my friends had heard so much of the immobility, if not backsliding of Canada, that they were not prepared for such very fine buildings and such a great array of wharves and quays on the lake, and the great fleet of craft alongside them. . . . Some day, surely, this 'place of meeting,' which is, I believe, the meaning of the name, must be of greater importance than it is now, rapid as has been its growth, and great as is its present prosperity. . . . Toronto has increased in all the elements of wealth and consequence by springs and bounds, and since 1861, when I was there, its population has doubled, and it is increasing still very rapidly." Next day the party were escorted to the University, which the Doctor pronounces to be "worthy of a great nation,—a noble Norman pile with good endowments and admirable professors beautifully situated." The reference to the situation is presumed to apply to the University and not to the professors, though the construction would rather seem to favour an opposite conclusion. "I regretted much," continues Dr. Russell, "that

* *Ante*, p. 228.

I had not an opportunity, owing to the shortness of our visit, of seeing the venerable ex-President, Dr. McCaul, whose edition of Horace caused me infinite wailing in the time of Consul Plancus, when I was at school."

Among the few other events necessary to be chronicled are the admission of Yorkville into the corporation of Toronto, in 1883, and of Brockton and Riverside during the present year. This has occasioned the addition of three new Wards to the city, with representation in the Council. What was formerly Yorkville is now St. Paul's Ward; what was Brockton is St. Mark's,* and what was Riverside is St. Matthew's. So that the city is now divided into twelve wards, each returning three Aldermen to the City Council, which body accordingly consists, exclusive of the Mayor, of thirty-six members. The Mayor receives a salary of \$2,000 per annum. The Aldermen serve the public gratis. The composition of the Council for the current year will be found elsewhere in this volume, on a separate page by itself. The admission of the three suburbs above named has of course added to the city's population, which, as nearly as can be estimated, contains at the present time rather more than 100,000 inhabitants.

In the course of last winter arrangements were made for a grand semi-centennial celebration, to take place in Toronto during the closing days of June and the early days of July following. The actual date of the semi-centennial was the 6th of March, but the time of year was considered unfavourable for the holding of a successful celebration, and the later season was accordingly fixed upon. In consequence of this arrangement, the actual semi-centennial tided over without any very emphatic demonstration. No public holiday was proclaimed, and the citizens, generally speaking, went about their ordinary pursuits. Still, the day was not allowed to pass without something in the shape of honourable recognition. Flags were unfurled from many of the public buildings, as well as from a number of private residences. There was some firing of cannon and ringing of bells; and at three o'clock in the afternoon the Free Public Library was formally opened to the public by the Lieutenant-Governor. In the evening a reception was held by the Mayor in the City Hall. These were about the only events which occurred to mark off the day from any other working day in the year. The account of the actual celebration in June and July, adapted from the current newspapers, will be found in a subsequent department.

* Strictly speaking, the new Ward of St. Mark includes a larger area than was covered by the Village of Brockton. It extends westerly to the eastern boundary of High Park, and southerly to the lake shore.

From a descriptive article published in a local newspaper on the fiftieth birthday of the city, it appears that during the half century intervening between the 6th of March, 1834—the date of the city's incorporation—and the semi-centennial of March 6th, 1884, there have been in all 329 Aldermen and Common Councilmen elected. Of these, 101 are still alive, and, with the exception of three only, are present residents of Toronto. There have been during the same period 28 Mayors, of whom 13 are alive and residents of the city. There have been five City Clerks, of whom the present occupant of that position is the sole survivor. There have been three Treasurers, of whom the present occupant is the sole survivor. There have been four Governors of the gaol, of whom the present occupant is the only survivor. There have been eight Chief Constables, the present one being the sole survivor. There have been six Chiefs of the Fire Brigade, the two present ones being the only survivors. There have been four City Solicitors, all of whom are alive. There have been eleven City Engineers, of whom four are living. There have been four Police Magistrates, two of whom are still alive.

* * * * *

"Thus far our chronicle ; and now we pause—
Though not for want of matter ; but 'tis time."

Our city's story has been told, and if the record is somewhat prosaic and marrowless, the reader is requested to remember the leading case of the needy Knifegrinder, and to bear in mind the rather ineffective and monotonous nature of the theme. Toronto's history, what there is of it, extends over less than a century of time. The natural situation of the place is not conducive to "Ereles' vein," and our rectangular streets have not been the scene of many great or entralling events. Our pleasant bay, delightful as it is on a calm, moonlit summer evening, recalls no hallowed memories such as "make Plymouth rock sublime," nor even such romantic associations as cluster around the picturesque and time-honoured elitts of grand old Quebec. But, if it cannot truthfully be said that our city's past bristles with great and impressive historic scenes, it may at least be pretty confidently predicted that she has before her a notable and momentous future. A score of clear and well-ascertained facts point unmistakably to the conclusion that Toronto is destined to become a great and wealthy city. Of late years such facts have been steadily accumulating. One has only to open one's eyes to see them staring him in the face. Toronto is the natural outlet of

an immense tract of country, which is daily increasing in importance. She bids fair to become one of the great railway centres of the continent. Her trade has been built up by healthy, legitimate enterprise, and not by speculation or accidental circumstances. The rapid extension of the city's area in every direction, except towards the lake, where no extension is possible; the steadily progressive advance in the value of real estate; the increasing extent of her mercantile and railway operations; the constant erection of imposing temples of commerce on our business thoroughfares, and of stately private mansions on our maple and chestnut-lined avenues—these are a few of the indications, not only of present prosperity, but of an abiding faith and confidence in the future. A faith based on such substantial grounds is tolerably certain to be verified by the result. There are doubtless many young persons now living in Toronto who will take part in the centennial celebration of the city's incorporation in the year 1934. They will then look back upon the primitive days of 1884 with feelings similar to those wherewith we now contemplate the era of Francis Gore and Sir Peregrine Maitland. And they will be justified in so doing, for the Toronto of half a century hence will be as unlike the Toronto of to-day, as the Toronto of to-day is unlike the Little York which groaned beneath the heel of the Family Compact. The sun will then rise upon a densely-packed population extending from the Humber to Scarborough Heights, and from Mount Pleasant Cemetery to the Bay. It may very well be that Toronto's population will then number more than a quarter of a million, and that Bloor Street will be a central and main business thoroughfare. Before that day comes, the hand that pens these lines will have mouldered into dust. But we know on high authority that "the evil that men do lives after them;" and in bringing this "trivial, fond record" to a close, the writer has one reflection strongly brought home to him—it is exceedingly probable that in those days to come, the labour which has gone to the production of this work will be pressed into service, and that the newspapers of the 4th of March, 1934, will be largely made up of extracts from the MEMORIAL VOLUME.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

NOTE ON THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED MAP OF THE HARBOUR
OF TORONTO IN 1788.

DURING the course of researches made in London, in 1884, for documents having a bearing on the dispute about the boundaries of the Province of Ontario, Mr. Thomas Hodgins, Q. C., lighted on a curious plan of the harbour of Toronto in 1788, a copy of which he at once transmitted to Mr. W. B. McMurrich, Chairman of the general Semi-Centennial Committee. It is entitled "A plan of the proposed Toronto harbour, with the proposed town and post by the settlement." It is dated Quebec, 5th December, 1788. It was executed by Captain Gother Mann, of the Royal Engineers. Along with the plan was a report by the same officer, sent to the Right Hon. Lord Dorchester, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in British America. The report is dated at Quebec, December 6th, 1788. Speaking of the harbour, Captain Mann says: "The harbour of Toronto is near two miles in length from the entrance on the west to the isthmus between it and a large morass on the eastward. The breadth of the entrance is about half a mile, but the navigable channel for vessels is only about 500 yards, having from three to three-and-a-half fathoms water. The north, or main shore, the whole length of the harbour, is clay bank, from twelve to twenty feet high, and, rising gradually behind, apparently good land, and fit for settlement. The water is rather shoal near this shore, having but one fathom depth at 100 yards distance, two fathoms at 200 yards distance; and when I sounded here the waters of the lake were very high. There is a good and safe anchorage everywhere within the harbour, being either soft or sandy bottom. The south shore is composed of a great number of sand hills and ridges, intersected with swamps and small creeks. It is of unequal breadth, from a quarter of a mile to a mile wide across from the harbour to the lake, and runs in length to the eastward five or six miles. Through the middle of the isthmus before mentioned, or rather nearer the north shore, is a channel with two fathoms of water, and in the morass there are other channels from one to two fathoms deep. From what has been said it will appear that the harbour of Toronto is capacious, safe and

well sheltered; but the entrance being from the westward is a great disadvantage to it, as the prevailing wind is from this quarter, and as this is a fair wind from hence down the lake, of course it is that with which vessels in general would take their departure from this place; but they may frequently find it difficult to get out of the harbour. The shoalness of the north shore, as before marked, is also disadvantageous as to erecting wharves, quays, etc. In regard to the place as a military post, I do not see any very striking features to recommend it in that view; but the best situation to occupy for the purpose of protecting the settlement of the harbour, would, I conceive, be on the point near the entrance thereof."

Captain Gother Mann is a welcome addition to the list of persons whose writings throw light on the early history of Toronto. It is to be observed that his name also occurs at page 73 of Mr. Brymner's Report on Canadian Archives, in connection with a document relating to the defences of Canada in the direction of Lake Champlain, dated London, November 23rd, 1791. The sketch of the Island and the soundings in the Bay, as given by Captain Mann, are very interesting, and the course of the Don, delineated by him, shows, as stated elsewhere in this volume, that the present principal outlet of the river was artificially made. It used to be known as the Little Don, and was understood to have been, in the origin, simply a shallow channel scooped out across the narrow bank of sand, as a short cut for fishermen and others desirous of ascending the stream. The route of the Indian path or "road toward Lake La Clie," along the valley of the Humber, is of great interest. This path is repeatedly mentioned in the notebooks of the pioneer surveyor, Augustus Jones. La Clie is a corruption of Lac aux Claies, one of the several well-known names given from time to time to Lake Simcoe, the earliest of which, however, was Lake Toronto, as we read in a letter of La Salle's, preserved in Margry's *Mémoires et Documents*, page 115. On the 22nd of August, 1680, La Salle says he was "au bord du lac Toronto" (sic), having travelled thither northward the day before, from Teioagon, that is to say, the "Portage Landing," near the mouth of the present Humber.

Captain Mann's delineation of the "views of the Trading Post of Toronto" is of particular value. It shews the number of the buildings, great and small, included within the palisade to have been five. The remains of these would of course be quite conspicuous in 1788, only about twenty-eight years after their destruction by fire, at the bidding of the French military authorities. Traces of them were plainly visible down to 1878, when they were finally obliterated by the levelling made

in preparing the Toronto Industrial Exhibition Grounds for their present use.

Captain Mann's town plot is of course purely ideal. For regularity and simplicity it might be a plan of the capital of Utopia or the New Atlantis. Like the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse, "the city lieth foursquare;" and, evidently for strategical reasons, the military engineer has reserved on each of its four sides a broad pomerium or esplanade, never to be violated by the plough, or built over. It is curious to observe in the Journal of Mr. Chewett, Chief Draughtsman in the first Surveyor-General's office of Upper Canada, under date of 22nd of April, 1792, the entry made of a plan sent to him by Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, of the "town and township of Toronto," with an enquiry as to whether it was ever laid out. The plan about which the query was put was very probably the identical one discovered by Mr. Hodgins. Mr. Chewett's reply is not recorded; but that no such town plot was ever surveyed or laid out is manifest from the absence of all allusion to such an incident in the notebook of Augustus Jones, where he speaks of the plan of the proposed town of York, in 1793.

As to the orthography "Toronto," for Toronto, adopted by Captain Mann—it certainly occurs in a few maps and documents; but it is unquestionably exceptional and late. Other forms appearing occasionally were, as has been pointed out in this volume, Toranto and Taronto. The syllables *en* and *an* in these forms, it must be remembered, were pronounced in the French way; so that, after all, virtually nothing more than the name Toronto, as we pronounce it, was intended to be represented. The normal form of the word was Toronto, as we see it in La Salle's letter in 1680. French maps and official documents of the same date and slightly later, show the same orthography, as e. g., the map illustrative of Lahontan's Letters of 1692. Vaudreuil's orthography in 1718 is Toronto. Throughout Pouchot's Memoir of the Late War, in 1755-60, it is the same. In Carver's Travels, in 1760-8, the name is given (p. 171) as Toronto, while in the accompanying map it is carelessly engraved Taronto. In Alexander Henry's Travels, 1760-76, we have Taronto (p. 179), but in a note on the same page Toronto is given as an *alias*. Like many other writers on Canada after the English occupation, Captain Mann was probably quite unacquainted with the source and history of the name Toronto. In the very papers sent out by Mr. Hodgins to Mr. McMurrich, Captain Mann stands corrected. The writer of the despatch No. 58, dated Quebec, October 24th, 1790, requesting the Colonial Office authorities to send to Lord Dorchester

(among other documents) this plan of Gother Mann's, employs the generally received rendering of the name; and in a later report written by Captain Mann himself, dated October 29th, 1792, of which an extract was also forwarded by Mr. Hodges, the orthography "Toronto," is adopted. As illustrative of the absence of information in regard to the source and history of the name Toronto, it may be added that as late as 1841 we have Sir Richard Bonnycastle, an officer of the Royal Engineers, like Captain Mann, reporting that the French trading post here was called "Tarento, Toronto, or some such name, from (as it is supposed) the Italian engineer who built it." Sir R. Bonnycastle had probably never read that this French trading-post was officially named Fort Rouillé, and that no engineer officer of the name of Toronto was ever heard of in Canada.

It is not difficult to see why Captain Mann took the trouble to sketch out his imaginary city of Toronto in 1788. "In regard to the place as a military post," he says, "I do not see any very striking features to recommend it in that view; but the best situation to occupy for the purpose of protecting the settlement of the harbour would be, I conceive, on the point near the entrance thereof." He sketched the city and surrounding settlement to shew that his suggested fortification was calculated to cover the town and settlement in case of an attack from a hostile fleet. It would seem that Bouchette, who surveyed the harbour in 1793, was not aware of Mann's previous survey. Bouchette's representation of the Peninsula, which may be seen at p. 88, vol. I, of his "British Dominions in North America," is much more minute and circumstantial than Gother Mann's. It may be added that up to the moment of the division of the Province of Quebec into two Governments, there were persons at the ancient capital fully awake to the probability that round the site of the old French trading post at Toronto a city would one day spring up. Thus we learn from Augustus Jones's papers that M. Rocheblave, Capt. Lajorée and Captain Bouchette (father of the naval officer), had endeavoured to secure considerable grants of land in that locality; a project frustrated by the transfer of the land-granting power from Lord Dorchester's Government, at Quebec, to the authorities of the new Province of Upper Canada, at York.

ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF TORONTO
ST STEPHEN'S WARD.



James Crocker



Frederick C. Denison



Edward W. Barton



William Adamson



John Blerna



Thomas Allen
ST DAVID'S WARD

A GLANCE AT THE CITY

AS IT IS.

HE present work, as is indicated on its title-page, is a Memorial Volume, and in its preparation the chief purpose kept in view has been to gather together in a permanent form such historical facts and records as are likely to be deemed worthy of preservation by those who shall come after us. In such a work, nothing approaching to an exhaustive account of the topography, industries or institutions of the city is to be looked for. Those in search of information on such matters will properly look for it in guide-books, directories, or statistical works specially devoted thereto. In the present brief paper, however, an attempt will be made to condense within the compass of a few pages, such statistical and topographical facts as may enable outsiders to form some general conception of our city's social and mercantile condition. The perusal of such a condensation, it is believed, will prove not uninteresting or uninstructive, even, to local readers, who may be presumed to be familiar, in a general way, with most of the facts embodied in it.

STREETS.

The origin of the names of many of the old streets of the city has already been given in connection with the early history of York. As mentioned elsewhere in the text, the principal commercial thoroughfares in the city are King and Yonge Streets. The former runs east and west, and intersects the city during the entire distance from the shore of Humber Bay to beyond the Don. From York Street to Church Street it is, *par excellence*, the fashionable mercantile quarter, nearly all the principal retail dry-goods and millinery establishments being situated within those limits. The southern side of this portion of the street is the fashionable promenade so graphically described by the Diogenes of the *Canadian Illustrated News*, and quoted a few pages back. Here, on a pleasant sunny afternoon of any season of the year, may be seen a motley con-

course of persons of both sexes, anxious to display their costly attire, and to be set down by wondering outsiders as belonging to the gay world of fashion. Eastward of Church Street, King Street becomes less fashionable, and beyond the St. Lawrence Market it can make no pretence to be called fashionable at all. Westward of York Street again, it is as yet only to a limited extent given up to commerce, though the day is probably not very far distant when it will present the aspect of a crowded business thoroughfare from end to end.

Yonge Street runs at right angles to King Street. It extends from the bay northwards to the extreme northern limit of the city, and for many miles beyond. Though less fashionable than King Street, it has of late years made rapid strides, and now contains some of the largest and finest retail mercantile houses in Toronto. The portion of it between King Street and the bay is largely given up to banks and wholesale houses, and some of the leading wholesale firms in the city have their headquarters here. North of King Street it is chiefly a retail thoroughfare, and an almost perpetual succession of stores and places of business extends from the junction of the two main arteries of the city to within a short distance of the northern boundary.

Next in importance as a retail business thoroughfare comes Queen Street, running east and west, and extending from its intersection with King Street, near the bridge over the Don River, to the western confines of the city. It is much less pretentious in its architecture, and in the character of its traffic, than either of the two thoroughfares already referred to, but in both respects it is undergoing steady improvement, and it is destined to maintain its position as the third in importance among our retail commercial marts. Front and Wellington Streets are the headquarters of the wholesale trade, and on the latter are also situated several of our leading banks. Colborne, Scott, and Melinda Streets, are also largely given up to wholesale business. Toronto Street, a short street not much more than fifty yards long, runs from King Street northward to Adelaide, and is certainly the most important thoroughfare in the city for its dimensions. The buildings upon it are large and costly, and are chiefly occupied by strong financial institutions and public companies. Bay Street, though in the very heart of the city, remained comparatively free from the encroachments of commerce up to a very recent period. One by one the householders have been crowded out, and it is now almost wholly abandoned to mercantile and manufacturing purposes. Jordan Street, a short street in the same neighbourhood, is of a similar character. Church Street, extending from the bay northward to Bloor Street, was

formerly one of the most desirable avenues for private residences in Toronto. The upper or northern portion of it still preserves that character, but the more southerly portions are steadily yielding to the imperative demands of a growing community. The portion south of King has long been given up to business purposes, and it may now be said to partake largely of a business character all the way to Carlton Street. York Street, a considerable portion of Adelaide Street, and a smaller portion of Richmond Street, are also given up to commercial purposes.

For private residences, Jarvis Street, taken as a whole, bears away the palm from all competitors. Its stately mansions, broad boulevards and trimly-kept lawns, are redolent of wealth and elegant retirement. There are many other streets which can boast of fine houses, spacious lawns and beautiful homes. Among them may be mentioned Bloor, Sherbourne, St. George, College, Beverley, St. Joseph, Grosvenor, Pembroke, Wellesley, Carlton and Gerrard Streets, together with Wilton Crescent, extending from George Street eastward to Sherbourne Street, and Avenue Road, extending northward from Bloor Street to the Davenport Road.

CHURCHES.

Toronto has long been known as pre-eminently a city of churches, and whatever may be the fact as to the piety of her citizens, there can be no doubt that any shortcomings in that direction are not due to deficient accommodation for church-goers. There are at the present time more than a hundred places of worship within the corporation. A few of these are fine specimens of architecture, and do much to beautify the several neighbourhoods wherein they are situated.

About one-fourth of the entire number of our city churches belong to the Anglican body. The chief of these is ST. JAMES'S CATHEDRAL, on the corner of King and Church Streets. Some account of the first ecclesiastical edifice built on this site will be found in the first chapter of Dr. Seadding's History of the Second Decade.* Facts bearing on the subsequent history of St. James's Church will be found scattered here and there throughout the volume. The present stately Cathedral is the fourth place of worship erected on the site, and was built to replace the structure consumed in the great fire of April, 1849.† Its architect was the late Mr. F. W. Cumberland. It is of white brick, with stone facings, and has accommodation for comfortably seating about 2,000 persons. The entire cost of its construction down to the present time, inclusive of the peal of bells in the

* *Ante*, p. 35 et seq.

† *Ante*, pp. 196-198.

tower, has been about \$218,000. Its entire length is 200 feet, the transept being 95 feet wide. The spire and clock are conspicuous features from all points of the compass. In the immediate neighbourhood of the Cathedral, on the corner of Church and Adelaide Streets, is the Parochial School-house.

Next in importance among the Anglican churches is the CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY, situated in Trinity Square. It was founded thirty-seven years ago, and owes its existence to a donation of £5,000 from two sisters in England, whose names, at their own request, have not been made public. Until within the last three or four years this church was known for the extreme high ritualism of its services, but under the present incumbent these features have been greatly modified. It is still specially distinguished by the excellency of its choir, which is largely composed of boys, whose sweet voices form admirable adjuncts to the beautiful and impressive services of the church. The building is of white brick, and oblong, in what is known as the debased Gothic style, with a shallow projection for a chancel and two shallow transepts. It is large and well-attended, more especially during evensong, when it is frequently crowded to the doors, every available inch of space being occupied by an attentive and appreciative congregation.

Chief among the other Anglican churches are ST. GEORGE'S, near the head of John Street, on the east side; ST. LUKE'S, a beautiful new church of red brick, on the corner of St. Joseph and St. Vincent Streets; ST. PAUL'S, on the south side of Bloor Street, between Jarvis and Church; the CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER, on the corner of Bloor Street west and Avenue Road; GRACE CHURCH, on the south side of Elm Street, between Teraulay and Elizabeth Streets; the CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION, on the south side of Richmond Street west, between York and Simcoe Streets; ALL SAINTS', on the corner of Sherbourne Street and Wilton Avenue; ST. STEPHEN'S, on the corner of Bellevue Avenue and College Street; TRINITY CHURCH—commonly known as "LITTLE TRINITY" (built precisely forty-one years ago), on King Street east; ST. MATTHIAS', on Bellwoods Avenue, near Queen Street west; the CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, corner of Portland and Stewart Streets; ST. PETER'S, corner of Bleeker and Carlton, and ST. PHILIP'S, corner of St. Patrick Street and Spadina Avenue. There are also ST. THOMAS'S, Huron Street, corner of Sussex Avenue; ST. ANNE'S, Dufferin Street; CHRIST CHURCH, Yonge Street; ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S, River Street; ST. MATTHEW'S Kingston Road; ST. BARNABAS', Donecaster, and ST. JOHN'S, Norway.

The principal ecclesiastical edifice of the Roman Catholic body is the CATHEDRAL OF ST. MICHAEL, a fine specimen of Gothic architecture, built of white brick, and situated on the north side of Shuter Street, with its front facing on Bond Street, and its rear abutting on Church Street. The tower and spire are of rare beauty, and have extorted admiration from countless visitors. Surmounting the latter is a gilt cross of colossal dimensions, which is said to contain a portion of the True Cross upon which the Saviour of mankind suffered. The interior of this beautiful and highly decorated Cathedral is very spacious, and the number of regular worshippers there is greater than at any other place of worship in the city. The musical services are of a very high order. Immediately to the north of the Cathedral, fronting towards Church Street, is the official palace or residence of His Grace the Archbishop, a spacious edifice of white brick, at the rear of a miniature forest of umbrageous trees.

The other noteworthy Roman Catholic churches are ST. BASIL'S, built on a portion of the old Elmsley farm, St. Joseph Street; ST. PAUL'S, on Power Street, originally built in 1826; ST. PATRICK'S, William Street; ST. MARY'S, Bathurst Street; and ST. PETER'S, corner of Bathurst and Bloor Streets. There are also ST. JOSEPH'S, Leslieville, and ST. HELEN'S, in the far western portion of the city. A special service for the benefit of French Roman Catholic residents is also held at the CHAPEL OF ST. VINCENT, situated at 200 Church Street, immediately adjoining St. Michael's Palace.

The Methodist body is very strongly represented in Toronto, and about one-fifth of the places of worship in the city are occupied by its adherents. Conspicuous above all the rest is the imposing METROPOLITAN CHURCH, situated in the centre of the quadrangle enclosed by Church, Queen, Bond and Shuter Streets, which quadrangle was formerly known as McGill Square. This enclosure is about three acres in extent, and is tastefully laid out with ornamental trees and shrubbery. The situation is incomparably the finest in Toronto devoted to ecclesiastical purposes, and every beholder who sees this church for the first time is impressed by its appearance. The church is of white brick, of great size, and with a massive tower thirty feet square, surmounted by smaller towers which are conspicuous features in the landscape for a great distance. The seating capacity is about 2,500, and there are seldom to be seen many vacant places during the Sunday services. The church faces the south, but there are three entrances, the main one being from Queen Street, the others respectively from Church and Bond Streets. The cost of construction

was about \$150,000, a great portion of which was raised by the energy and enthusiasm of the late Rev. Dr. William Morley Punshon. For some years before Mr. Punshon's arrival in Canada, in 1868, the Wesleyans of Toronto had felt the need of a more commodious church edifice than they possessed. His arrival gave an impetus to this sentiment, which he himself largely shared. He devoted much time to raising the necessary funds for the carrying out of the idea, and when it had been successfully accomplished, he himself pronounced the Metropolitan to be unequalled among the Methodist churches of the world.

The recent union of the several bodies of Canadian Methodists, by consolidating the forces, is likely to give additional importance to Canadian Methodism as a whole. Of the score or thereabouts of churches in Toronto devoted to their form of worship, the most noteworthy, next to the Metropolitan, is the one on the corner of Sherbourne and Carlton Streets. Conspicuous among the rest may be mentioned those respectively situated on Elm, Bloor, Queen, Carlton, Berkeley, Bathurst and Richmond Streets, and that on Spadina Avenue.

The Presbyterian body is another powerful force in the religious and social life of Toronto. Their two principal places of worship are ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH and that on the north side of St. James's Square. They are both constructed of stone, and are entitled to rank among the architectural ornaments of the city. The former, situated on the corner of King and Simeon Streets, especially extorts the admiration of strangers. The material employed in its construction is chiefly what is known as Georgetown rubble, with Ohio stone facings, some of the relieving arches and bands being of red-brown Queenston. The style of architecture is middle Norman, such as was much in vogue in Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The chief characteristics of the front, which faces northward towards King Street, are three large and highly ornamented semi-circular arches, on each side of which rises a massive pointed tower. Arches of similar character, but of smaller dimensions, surmount the windows towards Simeon Street, beyond which is a large feudal tower, rising to a height of 116 feet, and commanding a wide and variegated prospect. The polished red granite columns of the main entrance are also a noticeable feature. St. Andrew's has a large and wealthy congregation, who justly pride themselves upon their beautiful temple of worship.

The ST. JAMES'S SQUARE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, situated on the north side of Gerrard Street east, facing the Normal School grounds, is another noticeable specimen of stone architecture. It is pure Gothic

in its character, and is built of Georgetown coursed rubble, with Ohio stone jambs, angles, mouldings and buttresses. The main gable rises to a height of seventy feet, with three large tracery windows, the centre one being of heavy and elaborate design. There are three towers, one on each side, and the main tower, 100 feet high, to the west of the gable, is of the most massive character. As means of exit and entrance, this church is provided with six doors, two on the front and four on the sides. The adoption of the square form of plan in churches, in preference to the oblong, has frequently produced an unlovely and uneccllesiastic exterior. No such result is perceptible here, but the reverse, the transepts and roof of the school rooms having been designed to add to the apparent length of the church, and give the whole a dignified grouping.

OLD ST. ANDREW'S, on the corner of Jarvis and Carlton Streets, facing the former, comes next in beauty of architecture among the Presbyterian churches of Toronto. This, also, is in the Gothic style. Though much less elaborate in design and finish than either of the edifices just described, it possesses an anstere and massive dignity of its own, and forms an additional ornament to the beautiful avenue which it overlooks. KNOX CHURCH, on the north side of Queen Street west, near Yonge, is another well known Presbyterian place of worship. It is built of white brick, and has a lofty tower, highly ornamented at the base. Further east, on the corner of Mutual and Queen Streets, is COOKE'S CHURCH, a neat and substantial edifice of white brick. ERSKINE CHURCH, on Caer Howell Street, facing William Street, another white brick edifice, was partly destroyed by fire a few months since, but is to be restored, when worship will be resumed within its walls. The CENTRAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, on the corner of Grosvenor and St. Vincent Streets, is an elaborate white brick adaptation of Modern Gothic architecture. It is an exceedingly handsome structure, and the site upon which it stands is not only impressive in itself, but interesting from its historic associations.* There are other Presbyterian Churches on Charles, College, Carlton, King, and Queen Streets, as well as on Denison Avenue, and in several of the former suburbs which have of late been admitted into the corporation.

The Baptist body is also well represented in the city. Their principal place of worship is on the north-east corner of Jarvis and Gerrard Streets, where it rears its beautiful double front and lofty spire to the admiration of passers by. It is a Gothic stone structure, impressive

* *Ante*, p. 202.

without, and most tastefully arranged within. Its erection is understood to have been largely due to the liberality and munificence of the Hon. William McMaster. There are five or six other Baptist Churches in Toronto, the chief among them being situated on Alexander, College, Beverley, Yonge, and Parliament Streets.

The Congregationalists are most numerously represented in their fine church edifice on the north-west corner of Bond Street and Wilton Avenue. It is a substantial, modern Gothic building, of Georgetown stone, with Ohio dressings and slated roof. It has two towers, the principal one, twenty feet square, and rising to a height of 130 feet, being on the south-west corner. The other, on the north-west corner, is about sixty-five feet high. Between the towers on the west side and on the north and south sides there are gables with large tracery windows, and a number of small ones under. The space between the gables and towers are also filled in with windows. The roof forms an octagon, rising from almost a square at the cornice, and from the centre of that there is a second octagon, rising several feet, and roofed to the same pitch as the church roof. In each wing of this octagon there is a gable with a tracery window, and a pinnacle on each angle of the octagon between the gables. This strikes the eye of the spectator outside, and also serves the purpose of lighting the dome and ventilating the interior. The main entrances to the church are through the towers. After entering the towers there are wide easy-ascending staircases springing right and left to the gallery. On the ground floor the vestibule extends past the staircases to the auditorium, which is built in the amphitheatre style. Among the other Congregational places of worship in the city, special mention is due to ZION CHURCH, a red brick structure on the north side of the Yonge Street Avenue; the NORTHERN CONGREGATIONAL, on the west side of Church Street, between Alexander and Wood Streets; HAZELTON AVENUE CHURCH, corner of Scollard Street, Yorkville; and the small church on Spadina Avenue.

The Unitarians have a neat and commodious church on the west side of Jarvis Street, between Wilton Avenue and Gerrard Street. It is built of white brick, in the mediaeval Gothic style of architecture, and in all its appointments is more conspicuous for staid good taste than for elaborateness of design or execution. It has accommodation for comfortably seating five or six hundred persons. The congregation, though not numerically large, is composed of persons of intellectual energy and enlightened ideas, who devote much time to the cause of temperance and other works of practical philanthropy.

The Catholic Apostolic body have a white brick church at the south-east angle of Gould and Victoria Streets, facing St. James's Square, and overlooking the pleasant and tastefully-arranged grounds of the Education Department. The Reformed Episcopalians have a fine brick church on the south-east corner of Caer Howell and Simcoe Streets. The Bible Christians have churches on Agnes, Louisa and Brock Streets. The Lutherans have a comfortable place of meeting on the west side of Bond Street, a short distance north of Wilton Avenue. The Plymouth Brethren, Christadelphians, Swedenborgians, and "Friends," all have fitting temples of worship, and the Hebrews have a red brick synagogue on Richmond Street west. In addition to the places of worship commonly so called, there are also several places in the city where weekly services are held by ministers of religion and others who are not identified with any recognized sect of Christians.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

In no direction has Toronto made more significant advances than in her educational institutions. In 1844—forty years ago—only twelve teachers were employed in the public schools. There are at the present time twenty-two Protestant and eleven Roman Catholic public schools, besides private schools too numerous to count. At the period first referred to, Upper Canada College and the Grammar School were the only institutions which pretended to teach any of the higher branches of learning. There are now the Toronto University, Trinity College, the Collegiate Institute, Knox College, St. Michael's College, McMaster Hall, Wycliffe College, the Bishop Strachan School for Ladies, and the Normal and Model Schools, in addition to the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario, the Ontario College of Pharmacy, the School of Chemistry, the Ontario Veterinary College, the College of Dental Surgeons, the School of Dentistry, the School of Practical Science, the School of Medicine, and the Trinity Medical School. To refer at length to these respective institutions would occupy time and space interminable. A few words as to several of the more important of them, however, would seem to be called for in this place.

The buildings of the UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO are worthy of the magnificent site upon which they are erected, and are entitled to rank among the finest architectural effects on this continent. The only structures in Canada that can claim superiority over them, or that can seriously claim rivalry with them, are the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa. They are

situated on a natural elevation immediately beyond the ravine in the Queen's Park, and command a prospect of rare variety and beauty. They were completed in 1859, from designs by Messrs. Cumberland & Storm, architects, of Toronto, and were thereupon at once occupied by the University and College, which had for some years previously found headquarters in the Parliament Buildings, on Front Street. The material of the walls is stone, which imparts an aspect of great solidity, and, owing to the walls having been left for the most part superficially in the rough, the pile already impresses the beholder with the idea of age, though barely a quarter of a century has elapsed since its completion. The architecture is pure Norman, and is finished with great elaboration of detail. The general outline is nearly in the form of a square, with a spacious internal quadrangle about 200 feet wide, facing the north. The principal front is towards the south, and is about a hundred yards in length. The massive tower in the centre is 120 feet in height, and adds much to the mediaeval aspect of the structure. The east front is 260 feet in length, and has a separate entrance, surmounted by a pointed tower of smaller dimensions than that above the main entrance on the south. The west end, about 200 feet long, is not much resorted to except by the students and occupants of the building. The north side of the quadrangle is open to the park. As everybody knows, the University of Toronto, although developed from King's College, has long ceased to be in any sense a denominational institution, and is a national seat of learning of which Canadians are in all respects justly entitled to feel proud.

TRINITY COLLEGE owes its existence largely to the indefatigable exertions of the late Bishop Strachan. Its foundation was laid in April, 1851, and in January of the following year the inauguration took place, and the regular course of instruction began. The University was constituted by royal charter dated the 16th of July, 1852, and empowered to confer degrees in divinity, arts, law and medicine. While the instruction and discipline of the college are in accordance with the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor are authorized to dispense with the usual declaration of membership of that Church in the case of all degrees except those in divinity. The institution has steadily maintained a high reputation as one of our foremost seats of learning. The building is of white brick, with stone dressings, and is situated in a spacious park of about twenty acres in extent, on Queen Street west, about a mile and a half from Yonge Street. Its design is that of the Third Period of pointed English architecture, somewhat modified with a view to its adaptation to the occasional severity of our

Canadian climate. The edifice faces the south, and has a frontage of 250 feet. The main entrance is through a porch of cut stone, surmounted by a bay window and an ornamented gable. Ornamental gables are also introduced in each of the wings. A handsome and elaborately finished turret surmounts the centre of the building, and on each of the wings is a smaller turret of similar design.

KNOX COLLEGE is the principal theological training school of the Presbyterian body in this Province. Its functions are confined exclusively to divinity. It was originally founded shortly after the disruption of 1844, and for some time its operations were conducted on a very limited scale, only two teachers being employed, and the students numbering only fourteen. It has long outgrown such a state of things, and for years past has been recognized as one of the leading theological schools of the Dominion. The present building was opened in October, 1875. Its situation is at the head of Spadina Avenue, several hundred yards to the west of the University. The architecture is Gothic, the material being white brick, with dressings of cut stone. The structure is in the form of the letter E, and faces the south. The frontage is about 230 feet, each of the wings running northward about 150 feet. The main entrance, fifteen feet in width, is surmounted by a massive tower 130 feet high, flanked on each side by stone pillars with carved capitals. In addition to spacious lecture and class rooms for the Senate and Professors, and well appointed domestic offices, the building affords ample accommodation for eighty resident students. The library is large and valuable, and both it and the museum are suited to the general air of solidity and elegance by which the entire building is pervaded.

MCMASTER HALL, situated on the south side of Bloor Street west, and on the northern confines of the University Park, is the denominational College of the Baptist body. It is one of the most beautiful structures devoted to educational purposes in the Dominion, and, like the Baptist Church on the corner of Jarvis and Gerrard Streets, it owes its existence mainly to the liberality and energy of the Hon. William McMaster. The material employed in its construction is Credit Valley stone, with dressings of red brick. It is of the composite order of architecture, with numerous turrets and gables, and the blending of colours produces a very fine effect. The institution has entered upon a prosperous and useful career, and will perpetuate the name of its munificent founder. It may here be added that, while the Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Baptists all have costly denominational colleges in Toronto, the large and influential Methodist body are up to this time not provided with any. The reason of

this is that they have long had an excellent and widely-known institution at Cobourg, called Victoria College. During the last year or two there has been a good deal of agitation on the subject of removing this seat of learning to Toronto, and there seems to be good reason for believing that the removal will sooner or later take place.

THE UPPER CANADA COLLEGE has already been referred to in the text* as having been founded under the auspices of Sir John Colborne in 1829, so that it has now been in existence for about fifty-five years. Inclusive of the buildings and grounds, it occupies the entire quadrangle enclosed by King, Simeon, Adelaide and John Streets. The original College building is remembered by most residents of Toronto. About five years ago the institution was entirely remodelled, and important additions were made. The old building is still retained entire, but in front of it has been erected an imposing addition of eighty-five feet frontage, by forty-five feet in depth, two stories in height, with a light French roof. The principal entrance is in the centre of the front, giving access to a hall fourteen feet wide, running the whole length of the united buildings. The exterior is designed in a modified Elizabethan style, and has a marked collegiate character, with considerable picturesqueness of effect in detail and general treatment. The College is divided into six forms or classes, and the regular curriculum extends over a six years' course of study; though by steady application many youths are able to pass through all the forms in five, and some even in four years. Many of the leading personages in Canadian public life received their early training at Upper Canada College, and though the institution is of somewhat less relative importance than formerly, owing to the better facilities existing throughout the land for acquiring an education, it still holds high rank, and is largely attended and efficiently maintained.

The fine range of buildings devoted to the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT FOR ONTARIO occupies the quadrangle enclosed by Church, Gerrard, Victoria and Gould Streets, known as St. James's Square, and consisting of between seven and eight acres of ground purchased by the old Council of Public Instruction, in August, 1850, from the Hon. Peter McGill, of Montreal. The principal building faces the south, towards Gould Street. It has a frontage of 184 feet, and a depth of 85 feet. The architecture is Roman Doric. In the centre are four pilasters of the full height of the building, with pediment, surmounted by an open Doric cupola 95 feet high. In the exact centre of the building is a large hall, open to the roof, and lighted by a lantern. At the level of the upper floor, a gallery

* *Ante*, pp. 107-110.

runs round the hall, and is approached by three corridors leading respectively from the south, east and west. In this building are the official headquarters of the Minister of Education and the various officers through whom the educational system of the Dominion is carried on. Here, too, is an excellent library, especially rich in works bearing on the subject of education. The first floor is occupied by an interesting Museum and Art Gallery, both of which are open to the public free of charge, and these, with the beautiful grounds outside, are among the most popular of our public resorts. The number of visitors increases year by year. The reputation of the place has been widely spread abroad, insomuch that tourists visiting the city do not consider that they have seen what is best worth seeing in Toronto, until they have gone through the Museum and Art Gallery of the Education Department. There can be no doubt that these institutions, though they do not challenge competition with the larger and more costly collections of older lands, have done much to disseminate a love of the beautiful and a taste for art among the Canadian people. The NORMAL AND MODEL SCHOOLS, situated in the same building, are among the best known and most useful of our educational institutions. The former, which dates from the year 1847, is intended for the training of teachers of public schools, and is regularly resorted to by students from all parts of Ontario, and even, to some extent, from other parts of Canada. The latter is a proper complement to the Normal, and gives practical effect to the instruction received there. In the same building is the recently established ONTARIO SCHOOL OF ART, which bids fair to do much for the advancement of artistic education in Canada. The ONTARIO SCHOOL OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE, or School of Technology, established several years since, in the Queen's Park, in immediate proximity to the University, is another institution which is already beginning to produce important practical results, and from which higher results may confidently be anticipated in the future. Midway between the rear grounds of this institution and College Street is the handsome structure known as WYCLIFFE HALL, a Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, incorporated in 1879, the chief aim and purpose of which is to impart "sound and comprehensive theological training, in accordance with the distinctive principles of evangelical truth, as embodied in the Thirty-nine Articles." The COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE, on the east side of Jarvis Street, between Carlton and Gerrard Streets, has done, and still continues to do, good work in its especial province. The BISHOP STRACHAN SCHOOL is a high class private establishment for the education of young women and girls according to the method of the Anglican Church. There are

many other excellent private schools in the city, as well as several commercial colleges of repute. The public schools are numerous, and, generally speaking, efficiently conducted, though there is a steady and ever increasing demand for additional public school accommodation, and many of the teachers are handicapped by overcrowded classes. The actual number of public schools in Toronto at the present time is twenty-two. There are also eleven Separate Schools, as they are called, for the education of Roman Catholic pupils. The higher and general education of the children of Roman Catholic parents is further amply provided for by the DE LA SALLE INSTITUTE, the ST. MARY'S INSTITUTE, ST. MICHAEL'S, ST. ALPHONSO'S, ST. BASIL'S, and ST. CHARLES and ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER Schools; the LORETTO CONVENT, LORETTO ABBEY, and ST. JOSEPH'S and ST. MARY'S Academies.

It is due to the memory of the late venerable Dr. Egerton Ryerson to record the fact that the educational system of this Province was mainly established by his long and untiring exertions. In 1844 he received the appointment of Superintendent of Public Schools for Upper Canada. He held this appointment for thirty-two years, and resigned it in 1876. During the interval he founded and administered the public school system with a zeal and efficiency which have deserved and received the highest encomiums from many of the leading educationists of two continents. Bishop Frazer, of Manchester, England, in a report on Canadian Schools, published in 1865, bore the following unimpeachable testimony to the importance of Dr. Ryerson's labours. "It is indeed very remarkable to me that in a country occupied in the greater part of its area by a sparse and anything but wealthy population, whose predominant characteristic is as far as possible removed from the spirit of enterprise, an educational system so complete in its theory and so capable of adaptation in practice should have been originally organized, and have been maintained in what, with all allowances, must still be called successful operation, for so long a period as twenty-five years. It shows what can be accomplished by the energy, determination and devotion of a single earnest man. What national education in England owes to Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, what education in New England owes to Horace Mann, that debt education in Canada owes to Egerton Ryerson. He has been the object of bitter abuse, and of not a little misrepresentation; but he has not swerved from his policy, or from his fixed ideas. Through evil report and good report he has resolved, and he has found others to support him in the resolution, that free education shall be placed within the reach of every Canadian parent for every Canadian child." In 1876 the office of Superintendent

of Education was abolished, and the public school system was placed in charge of a Minister of Education, having a seat in the Provincial Government. The Hon. Adam Crooks was appointed to that onerous position, and, on more than one occasion, he bore testimony to his appreciation of Dr. Ryerson's great services to the cause of education in Upper Canada.

The Kindergarten system has been tried in the public schools of Toronto during the last few years with some measure of success, and numerous small private establishments modelled on the German plan are to be met with here and there throughout the city.

OSGOODE HALL may appropriately enough be classed among the educational institutions of Toronto, as, though it is chiefly devoted to other than educational purposes, it is here that law students are examined in their several years, and are finally examined as to their fitness to practice at the bar and as attorneys respectively. "The Hall," as it is commonly called by members of the legal profession, is one of the most stately and imposing edifices in the city, whether regarded from outside or inside, and is unquestionably one of the highest architectural triumphs of Mr. W.G. Storm. It is named in honour of the Hon. William Osgoode, the first Chief Justice of Upper Canada. Its situation is on Queen Street west, at the head of York Street, and the grounds extend from Chestnut Street westward to University Street. Here are the headquarters of the Superior Courts ; here writs of summons and original processes are issued ; and here the Terms of the Superior Courts are held at stated periods. Here, in a word, are the headquarters of the Superior Courts in this Province. Osgoode Hall is the property of the Law Society of Upper Canada, incorporated in 1797. The oldest portion of the building, consisting of the front of the present east wing, was begun in 1829, but not completed for occupation until 1832, when the first Convocation of Benchers within its walls took place on the 6th of February. In 1845 the west wing was completed, and a connecting range was erected with a large surmounting dome. About ten years afterwards the entire central structure was remodelled, and during the next four years a handsome façade of cut stone was erected, the dome being removed. As completed in 1859, Osgoode Hall was at once an ornament to the city and a credit to the legal profession. Of late years there have been still further additions and improvements, and as it now stands, the Toronto Temple of Themis would confer additional grace upon any city in the world. An intelligible account of its architecture and interior arrangements would occupy more space than can here be accorded to it. Suffice it to quote the words

A learned architect contributed several years ago to the columns of a Toronto newspaper: "The Society of Osgoode Hall may deem itself fortunate in having built in less competitive days, when there were not so many draughtsmen-architects sown broadcast through the country as there are now, importuning people to give them a job—to give them a chance of destroying a once noble art in endeavouring at their expense to learn their business by disfiguring nature with crude, mis-shapen and ill-constructed buildings."

OTHER PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Only a few of the more important institutions can be referred to. Under this heading the PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS are entitled to the first place but their patent of precedence is due to the use to which they are put rather than to any impressiveness of aspect or excellence of architecture. An account of their origin will be found in a former part of this volume.* They consist of a long, low range of red brick buildings, surrounded by considerable open space, which gives full effect to the insignificance of their appearance. The buildings and grounds occupy the quadrangle enclosed by Front, John, Wellington and Simcoe Streets. No elaborate description of them is necessary, as they belong to a past order of things and will doubtless soon be superseded by a pile suitable for the accommodation of the Ontario Legislature, and the numerous offices required for the carrying-on of the various departments. At the other side of Wellington Street are the grounds of GOVERNMENT HOUSE, extending northward to King Street, and consisting of several acres of land of variegated surface. The House itself stands near the corner of King and Simcoe Streets, and is a fine, spacious red brick building of massive exterior. The interior appointments and outbuildings are fully in keeping with the dignity of the office of Lieutenant-Governor. As remarked elsewhere, the present incumbent of that office is the Hon. John Beverley Robinson.

The PROVINCIAL LUNATIC ASYLUM is situated on Queen Street west, a short distance beyond Trinity College, and on the opposite side of the street. It is about three miles distant from the City Hall, and commands a fine view of the lake. It is constructed of pale yellow bricks, with cut stone plinth belt, cornices, and window dressings. The gutters are of copper, and the roof is covered with galvanized iron. Most of the sashes are of iron, constructed to rise and fall about five inches, sufficient for the admission of fresh air, but not wide enough for a patient to pass through.

* A. & C., pp. 164, 165.

ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF TORONTO

ST MARK'S WARD



Charles J. Dryden



Michael J. Woods



John M. Macmillan



John A. Carroll M.D.



Edward H. Moore



Frank H. T. Phillips

ST MATTHEW'S WARD

The northern façade is 584 feet in length. The centre building, including the basement, is five stories high, and the rest of the main building, with basement, four stories. From each end of the main building a wing extends 240 feet in length, and, including basement, four stories high. The centre building is surmounted by a lofty dome, covered with slate, and visible from the lake on a clear day at a distance of thirty miles. The western half of the building is occupied by males, the eastern by females. Nearly a hundred officials are required to manage the institution, the maintenance of which costs from \$80,000 to \$90,000 a year. Dr. Daniel Clark, the Superintendent, is well known as one of the leading specialists on this continent in the treatment of the insane.

The GENERAL HOSPITAL, standing at the back of a tract of open ground on the north side of Gerrard Street east, is one of the most useful and beneficent institutions in the city. It is of white brick, with stone dressings, two stories high, and with a frontage towards the south of 170 feet. The present Superintendent is Dr. Charles O'Reilly. In close proximity to the General Hospital, in the north-west corner of the grounds, is the BURNSIDE LYING-IN HOSPITAL, supported by voluntary contributions, supplemented by a yearly Government grant of \$400. The ANDREW MERCER EYE AND EAR INFIRMARY is a few yards east of the main hospital building. In the same district of the city, but somewhat farther to the southward, is the HOUSE OF PROVIDENCE, on Power Street, a Roman Catholic institution for the relief of the aged, infirm, and destitute of all faiths, or of no faith. It is a large, well-built and well-managed establishment, creditable in every point of view to those by whom it is maintained. The Superiorress is the Reverend Mother de Chantal.

The GENERAL POST OFFICE, situated on the north side of Adelaide Street east, and commanding the whole of Toronto Street from its front entrance, is a fine and costly specimen of architecture. It was completed and first occupied in 1874. The Adelaide Street front is faced with richly-wrought Ohio stone, which is also continued for about twelve feet on each side, and is in the Italian style. The main building is three stories high, with a basement, and with a lofty attie in the mansard roof. The front elevation is composed of a central break, which is relieved with coupled columns and pilasters with foliated caps and moulded bases and cornices at heights corresponding to each floor. On each side of the central break is a recessed bay, and beyond, at each angle, a tower having rusticated pilasters and a continuation of the cornices. The main cornice over the central feature is pedimented, and above it is a large carved clock, in a handsome moulded frame, flanked by ornamented carved trusses. Imme-

diately behind the clock-frame rises the central dome, 32 feet wide and 36 feet high, which is finished with ornamental pediments, terminal and flagstaff. The angle towers are finished with truncated mansard roofs, having richly ornamented dormers and cast iron cresting. Between these towers and the dome is the mansard roof to the building proper, having also dormers and cresting. The central feature is divided into three bays with a window in each, except on the ground-floor, where the central bay is occupied by the principal doorway, which is deeply recessed and covered by an elaborate portico supported by richly-executed columns, and having a pedimented top on which is placed the coat of arms boldly executed in stone. A commodious doorway is also placed in each of the angle towers. The upper portion of the towers is occupied by recessed windows corresponding with the others. The doors and windows have richly foliated imposts and carved heads for keystones. The main building has a frontage of 75 feet and a depth of 66 feet. It is 56 feet high to the eaves, and 90 feet to the top of the dome. The side and rear elevations are faced with white brick, having stone dressings. The rear building is one story high, with a basement, and extends from the rear of the main building to Lombard Street, a distance of 108 feet. The Postmaster is Mr. T. C. Patteson. A few yards distant, on the west side of Toronto Street, is the OLD POST OFFICE, now used for the Inland Revenue and other offices.

On the corner of Yonge and Front Streets, facing the latter, is the CUSTOM HOUSE, a specimen of the Renaissance style of architecture. The depth of the building on Yonge Street is 112 feet, and on the west side 92 feet, with a frontage on Front Street of 63 feet. The façades on Front and Yonge Streets, together with a portion of the west side, are of cut stone. The rear, and the remainder of the west side, are of white pressed brick above the basement, which is of Georgetown stone throughout, the residue of the stone work being carried up in the best quality of Ohio stone. The principal elevation is on Front Street, and is very effective, having in its centre an enclosed porch with circular headed doorway and side-lights richly moulded and columniated. Over the cornice of the porch is a balustrade from which rise columns with richly carved caps and moulded bases, carrying a cornice with dentil course. A rich modillion block cornice separates the ground story from the first, and one of a plainer character separates the latter from the second; the cornice above this being of galvanized iron, from which the mansard roof starts. Every block or bracket in the modillion cornice has a different device in the way of foliage carved upon it. The panels below the windows of the ground story are filled with heads representing various animals cut in masterly style.

The keystones of some of these windows represent the heads of Commerce, Agriculture, Floriculture, Shipping, etc., while on others are carved the heads of Palladio, Galileo, and other eminent men of the fifteenth century. All the windows have transoms, on the circular portions of which are carved the coats of arms of the most famous seaports of the world. Immediately under the cornice which separates the first story from the second, is an elaborately carved band or cordon of foliage encircling the whole of the cut stone façades. The windows of the second story are semi-circular, with boldly-enriched archivolt mouldings surrounding them, butting against heavy keystones on which are incised nautical emblems. The tympana of these windows are filled with medallion heads, and with foliage in the spandrels. These heads are carved with great spirit, and represent such famous navigators as Frobisher, Drake, Hudson, Blake, Raleigh, Columbus, and Vasco di Gama. The columns of the portico on the ground are externally, as well as internally, clustered, from the elaborately carved caps of which spring no less ornamental archivolt mouldings. The niches on the inside of the portico are beautifully enriched with carved mouldings, resting on sills supported on corbels representing different plants. Although the style of architecture adopted is Renaissance, the ornamentation is not of that entangling and complicated nature which pervaded it at its later period, and which distressed the eye to look at, and perplexed the mind to fathom its meaning. The ornamentation, though elaborate, is natural, and forms a component part of the building. The structure took two years to erect. It cost about \$165,000, and was first occupied in November, 1876. The present Collector of Customs is the Hon. James Patton, Q.C., LL.D.

ST. LAWRENCE HALL, on the south side of King Street east, has long been a well-known landmark in the topography of Toronto. Mr. Ure's "Handbook," published twenty-six years ago, contains an elaborate architectural description of it, which it is not considered necessary to transfer to these pages. Suffice it to say that its huge clock is daily consulted by thousands of street passengers, and that our principal market is situated here. The other chief local markets are ST. ANDREW'S, on Little Richmond Street, and ST. PATRICK'S, on Queen Street west. At the rear of the St. Lawrence Market is the CITY HALL, with a frontage of 140 feet. Like the Parliament Buildings, already referred to, it is mean and insignificant in appearance, wholly unsuited to the purposes for which it is required, and it is likely to be replaced by a more suitable and commodious structure in the near future. A similar criticism may be passed upon the COURT HOUSE, on Adelaide Street east, a new and improvid-

ed edition whereof is to be erected on Queen Street west, at the head of Bay.

The new FREE LIBRARY BUILDING occupies the site formerly occupied by the Meehanies' Institute, on the north-west corner of Church and Adelaide Streets. Indeed, it is in part the same building, but entirely remodelled, and with important additions and modifications in the rear. The CANADIAN INSTITUTE, Richmond Street east, is a tasteful red brick structure with white stone facings, in the Parisian Renaissance style of architecture. It is the headquarters of the only prominent scientific society in this Province, and contains lecture and reading-rooms, in addition to a library chiefly composed of scientific books and periodicals for the use of members. SHAFESBURY HALL, on the corner of James Street and Queen Street west, near Yonge, is the headquarters of the Young Men's Christian Association. It contains a library and free reading-room, in addition to a hall which is largely used for lectures and other public entertainments.

The INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION BUILDINGS, with their adjuncts, occupy a tract of about sixty acres of land on the lake shore, immediately to the west of Dufferin Street. The circumstances under which this Association sprang into existence, and under which their great enterprise was launched, have been fully detailed in the last chapter of the foregoing history of Toronto. The appearance of the buildings and park is familiar to almost everybody in this Province, and to many thousands of other persons who have attended one or more of the five great exhibitions which have been held there. The site of old Fort Rouillé is included within the grounds, and is commemorated to future ages by a cairn raised in 1878, mainly at the instance of Dr. Seadding.* A short distance to the west of Exhibition Park, fronting towards Strachan Avenue, is the CENTRAL PRISON, a huge structure of grey stone. Almost due north of the main exhibition building, at a distance of several hundred yards, is the MERCER REFORMATORY, a spacious brick edifice, established for the reformation of fallen women. A kindred institution in the same neighbourhood is the INDUSTRIAL REFUGE, for the training and reforming of young girls. The TORONTO JAIL is situated on the hill to the east of the Don, nearly opposite Gerrard Street. The HOUSE OF INDUSTRY, on the corner of Elm and Elizabeth Streets, is a white brick edifice of considerable size. It furnishes an asylum for the indigent poor, and

* The cairn is to be replaced by a structure of greater dignity and importance, in the form of an obelisk of stone, with suitable inscriptions. The foundation will be laid during the forthcoming Semi-Centennial celebration, and the entire structure, it is hoped, will be completed within the present year.

is an institution in every way deserving of public support. The SR. VINCENT DE PAUL SOCIETY, having its local headquarters in the red brick hall on the south-east corner of Shuter and Victoria Streets, is a charitable institution, managed exclusively by lay members of the Roman Catholic church. The object of the society is to relieve suffering and misery wherever found, and irrespective of the faith or nationality of the recipients. Among other kindred institutions may be mentioned the BOYS' HOME, on George Street; the GIRLS' HOME, on Gerrard Street east; the INFANTS' HOME, on St. Mary Street; the LAKESIDE HOME, and CITY HOSPITAL FOR SICK CHILDREN, on the west part of the Island, near the lighthouse; the NEWSBOYS' HOME, on Frederick Street, and the HOSPITAL FOR SICK CHILDREN, on the corner of Elizabeth Street and the Yonge Street branch of the College Avenue.

The BOARD OF TRADE is entitled to rank among the most important of our public institutions, and its importance is not diminished by its amalgamation with the CORN EXCHANGE, a union which is consummated as these lines are passing through the press. The headquarters of the united institution are in the Imperial Bank buildings, Wellington Street east, but improved accommodation is likely to be ere long required and obtained. The STOCK EXCHANGE meets at No. 24, King Street east.

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

Many of the leading banking institutions of Canada have their headquarters in Toronto, and nearly all of them are represented here. Speaking generally, they are managed with great prudence and judgment, and their solvency and standing are alike unquestioned and unquestionable. The buildings of several of them are justly numbered among the architectural beauties of the city. The stately structure of the BANK OF TORONTO, for instance, on the north-west corner of Church and Wellington Streets, would do no discredit to Pall Mall, and indeed its exterior is eminently suggestive of the palatial club-houses of that magnificent promenade. Of the beautiful sand-stone building of the DOMINION BANK, on the busiest of all the many busy sites of the city—the south-west corner of King and Yonge Streets—no higher praise can be given than to say that it is worthy of its situation. With fewer architectural pretensions, the structure of the BANK OF MONTREAL, on the north-west corner of Front and Yonge Streets, is a solid, substantial stone pile, characteristic of the wealthy and far-reaching institution which finds a home there. THE BANK OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA stands on the north-east corner of Wellington and Yonge Streets, where it is a conspicuous and imposing

landmark. A few yards further north, on the north-east corner of Colborne and Yonge Streets, is the BANK OF COMMERCE, another of the most solid of our financial institutions. The MERCHANTS' BANK is on Wellington Street west, opposite the foot of Jordan Street; and the FEDERAL is a few yards farther westward on the same street. The beautiful cut stone building of the ONTARIO BANK stands at the north-east corner of Wellington and Scott Streets. A little further to the west, on the north-west corner of Wellington Street and Exchange Alley, is the IMPERIAL BANK; and further west still, beneath the same roof as the Bank of Toronto already mentioned, is the Toronto agency of the QUEBEC BANK. The STANDARD BANK is on the south-west corner of Wellington and Yonge Streets, but a new building for its accommodation is now in course of erection on the north-west corner of Wellington and Jordan Streets. MOLSONS is at present situated at No. 46, King Street west, but is to occupy premises in the magnificent Arcade which is to be built in the near future by Mr. Alexander Manning, at the rear of the Grand Opera House, and facing on King Street. The latest addition to the chartered banks of Toronto is the CENTRAL, situated in the fine new building situated on the east side of Yonge Street, a few yards north of Wellington Street. Besides the ordinary chartered banks already mentioned, there are numerous well-managed savings banks and loan institutions, the mere enumeration of which would occupy considerable space.

THE PRESS.

In nothing is the enterprise and intelligence of Toronto more perceptible than in the number and character of the daily newspapers issued from the local press. An account of the founding of the GLOBE has been given elsewhere in this volume.* It has now entered upon its forty-first year of publication, and is more widely known and read than any other newspaper in the Dominion. It is the chief organ of the Reform party in this Province, and the most formidable of all journalistic opponents of the present Government at Ottawa. The offices are at 26 and 28 King Street east. The MAIL, as everybody knows, is the organ of the Liberal Conservative party. It was founded in 1872, and has ever since been conducted with much ability. Alone among the newspapers of Toronto, it is specially noticeable for the attention it bestows upon purely literary matters. Like the *Globe*, it issues a morning and an evening edition, and circulates to a greater or less extent all over the Dominion. Its building

* *Ante*, pp. 192-193.

on the north-west corner of King and Bay Streets is one of the finest and best appointed newspaper offices in America. On the 24th of May, in this present year, it suffered considerable damage by fire, but is being rapidly repaired, and by the time these lines meet the public eye its restoration will probably be completed. The *News* is another enterprising journal, issuing morning and evening editions. It is of recent birth, but has already won its way to wide recognition by the outspoken character of its views and the marked ability of its editorial articles. It is an exponent of the extreme democratic principle as applied to Canadian affairs, and advocates Canadian independence. No paper in the Dominion is so widely quoted by its contemporaries throughout the land. Its offices are on the west side of Yonge Street, a short distance south of Adelaide Street. The *WORLD* is a morning paper only, and issued at one cent. It is bright, newsy and readable, devotes special attention to financial and social matters, and is an advocate of Canadian nationality. Its office is situated on King Street east, a few doors from Yonge Street. The *TELEGRAM* is an evening paper, independent in politics, and published at one cent. It enjoys a large local circulation, and is largely patronized by local advertisers. Its office is on the south-west corner of King and Bay Streets, directly opposite the *Mail* building.

These constitute the sum-total of the daily newspapers of Toronto. The weeklies are very numerous, and many of them are conducted with marked ability and vigour. The *CHRISTIAN GUARDIAN*, the organ of the Methodist body, is deserving of special mention. It was founded in 1829—fifty-five years ago—and was long edited by the late Rev. Egerton Ryerson, who stamped his individuality upon it from the outset. It has ever since maintained a high reputation for the vigour of its articles. The *CANADA PRESBYTERIAN* also deserves honourable mention. As its name indicates, it is the organ of a highly influential and intelligent religious body. It is conducted with marked ability, and enjoys a large circulation. The Anglican body have two weekly papers in the city—the *DOMINION CHURCHMAN* and the *EVANGELICAL CHURCHMAN*. The former is of High Church proclivities; the latter, as its name implies, being Evangelical and Low Church. The *CANADIAN BAPTIST* is the organ of the Baptist denomination, and a specially powerful advocate of the Temperance platform. The *IRISH CANADIAN* and the *TRIBUNE* are outspoken and widely-circulated advocates of Irish Catholic interests in Canada. The *SENTINEL* is the recognized organ of the Orange body. The *CITIZEN* is the acknowledged local organ of the Temperance cause. The *MONETARY TIMES* is the standard financial and mercantile paper, and enjoys a circulation and in-

fluence commensurate with the importance of the subjects to which its columns are devoted. The WEEK is a periodical largely devoted to literary and social topics, and aiming at a higher standard than commonly obtains among Canadian newspapers. TRUTH is of a more popular and domestic character, and finds a large number of readers in the rural districts. GRIP is a highly successful humorous and satirical paper, illustrated by political and social cartoons, and by other suggestive views treated in the comic vein. There are various other weekly papers published in Toronto, among which are several devoted to the learned professions. There are also a number of monthly periodicals, conspicuous among which are the CANADIAN METHODIST MAGAZINE and the CANADIAN INDEPENDENT. THE EDUCATIONAL MONTHLY and the SCHOOL JOURNAL are carefully edited educational periodicals, much appreciated by those engaged in the profession of teaching.

SOCIETIES.

The secret and other societies of Toronto are too numerous to admit of anything beyond the briefest reference here. The MASONIC body have fourteen local lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Canada; seven Royal Arch lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Chapter; one chapter of Royal and Oriental Free Masonry; two lodges of Cryptic Masonry; two lodges of the Ancient Scottish Rite, and four lodges of Knights Templar. This influential body have several beautiful halls in which their meetings are held, the chief of which is the Masonic Hall, on the west side of Toronto Street. This building was erected in 1857-'58, from designs by Mr. William Kauffman, the materials employed being Ohio freestone and iron. It has a frontage of 102 feet and a depth of 75 feet. The central portion is six stories high, the remainder five. The principal Lodge Room is of vast size and most imposing appearance. The ODD FELLOWS have ten lodges, nine of which meet in the hall on the corner of Yonge and Albert Streets. The ORANGE body have three District lodges, each of which has a separate hall of meeting. THE SONS OF TEMPERANCE have three divisions, and the GOOD TEMPLARS have eight lodges, meeting in different parts of the city. The ANCIENT ORDER OF FORESTERS, the CANADIAN ORDER OF FORESTERS, the KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS, and the ANCIENT ORDER OF UNITED WORKMEN are all fully represented in the city, as also are the CHURCH OF ENGLAND and other Temperance Societies. The principal musical associations are the PHILHARMONIC, the CHORAL, and ST. CECILIA Societies.

PARKS AND CEMETERIES.

The QUEEN'S PARK is the largest and best patronized of our "breathing spaces." It formerly contained considerably more than 100 acres of ground, but has since been somewhat curtailed of its proportions by the leasing of building lots to private persons. It is, however, still large and commodious, extending from Bloor Street, on the north, to the Yonge Street Avenue on the south. The eastern and western limits are not easily defined, owing to irregularities of boundary lines. Entering the Park from the south, the visitor is confronted by a mound, rockery, and miniature fountain, all of which are of rather insignificant proportions. Two cannon brought from Sebastopol command the splendid vista of the Queen Street Avenue. Diverging roads here branch off to the east and west, to meet again several hundred yards further north. In the centre of the space enclosed by these roads is the old dilapidated building originally built for one of the wings of King's College. A short distance north-west of this structure is the Soldiers' Monument described on pages 252, 253, and 254. Close by is the plain granite pedestal upon which the monument to the memory of the late Hon. George Brown is soon to be placed. Beyond the neighbouring ravine the stately University rears its imposing front. Nearly the whole of the eastern boundary of the Park is fringed with costly private mansions. The two branches of the College Avenue which lead to the southern entrance to the Park are in themselves most attractive promenades, more especially the longer one, leading from Queen Street, which is a miniature Champs Elysées. On pleasant Sunday afternoons, and to a less extent on every other day in the week, both Park and Avenues are thronged with visitors. A portion of the Park is specially set apart for base-ball playing. Many of the trees, more especially in the northern and least frequented part, have attained large growth, and their wide-reaching umbrageous branches afford pleasant shelter from the sun on a warm day.

The HORTICULTURAL GARDENS are owned by a company called the Toronto Horticultural Society. They occupy the greater part of the quadrangle enclosed by Gerrard, Sherbourne, Carlton and Jarvis Streets, and contain ten acres of land, five of which were conveyed by deed of gift to the Society in 1856 by the Hon. G. W. Allan, and the other five were purchased some years afterwards by the City Council, and handed over to the Society on a lease for 99 years. These gardens are tastefully laid out, and kept with much care. They provide a pleasant place of recreation for the public, and are largely resorted to throughout the summer season. A large, stately pavilion, three stories high, and built in the

Crystal Palace style, stands near the western boundary of the grounds, and is much used for concerts and other entertainments. A short distance from the front of this structure is a large and costly fountain. Seats are distributed here and there throughout the grounds, which are a specially favourite resort of the children and nursemaids of the neighbourhood. They are open free to the public during the summer, except while entertainments are in progress. RIVERDALE PARK, enclosed by the angle of Winchester and Sunnach Streets, and extending to the banks of the Don, is a comparatively modern place of recreation which finds much favour among the residents of the east end of the city. The NORMAL SCHOOL GROUNDS have already been referred to. The foregoing constitute the sum-total of the public parks, strictly so called, within the corporation. The ISLAND is rapidly developing into a park, as well as a summer residence, and it has long since become a frequent place of resort for the citizens. The pure air to be had there has lost none of the invigorating qualities which caused the Indians to resort thither in days long past, as mentioned in the historical portion of this volume. At the east end of the Island are the free baths established two summers ago by Mr. Erastus Wiman, of New York, formerly a resident of Toronto. Beyond the city limits, but of easy access, are HIGH PARK, VICTORIA PARK, LORNE PARK, RIVERSIDE PARK, WOODBINE PARK, and KEW GARDENS.

The largest and most important cemeteries within the corporation are ST. JAMES'S and the NECROPOLIS. The former is beyond all comparison the larger, more pleasantly situated, and more interesting. It contains sixty-five acres of variegated landscape, and affords sepulture to many of Toronto's illustrious dead. The ravine, through which Castle Frank Brook rolls its not very pellucid waters, is a favourite spot with our local artists; and beyond rises the steep acclivity of Castle Frank, the eminence upon which Governor Simcoe built his historic summer house.* The Necropolis is several hundred yards farther to the south, and is bounded on its western and southern sides by Sunnach and Winchester Streets. It contains about fifteen acres. Here, too, repose the remains of not a few whose names are indelibly stamped upon our country's history, conspicuous among whom may be mentioned Samuel Leonard, Peter Matthews,† William Lyon Mackenzie,‡ and the Hon. George Brown. The OLD MILITARY BURYING GROUND, in the western part of the city, and POTTER'S FIELD, on Bloor Street, have long since ceased to be used as places of sepulture, and indeed the latter has ceased to exist even as a memorial of the past. Beyond the city limits is ST. MICHAEL'S CEMETERY, appropri-

* *Ante*, pp. 22, 133.

† *Ante*, p. 183.

‡ *Ante*, pp. 226, 227.

ated to the Roman Catholic body, and situated on the west side of Yonge Street, somewhat more than a mile north from Bloor Street. A little farther northward, and on the opposite side of Yonge Street, is MOUNT PLEASANT CEMETERY, the grounds whereof are tastefully laid out and carefully maintained.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The railways running into Toronto have been sufficiently indicated on former pages.* A word on our volunteer military organizations will here be in place. THE QUEEN'S OWN and the TENTH ROYAL GRENADIERS—both of them purely local institutions—are entitled to a foremost place among the militia regiments of Canada. The former, as already recorded,† has become historical, through its gallant achievements during the Fenian raid on the Niagara frontier, in June, 1866. The latter has had serious difficulties to contend with, but since its reconstruction, about two years ago, it has apparently been on a solid and permanent basis. It numbers among its officers and in its ranks some of our best known and most popular citizens. Among other military organizations may be mentioned the GOVERNOR GENERAL'S BODY GUARD, the TORONTO FIELD BATTERY, the TORONTO GARRISON ARTILLERY, the ONTARIO RIFLE ASSOCIATION and the SCHOOL OF INFANTRY. The depots are the OLD FORT, at the foot of Bathurst Street, on the lake shore; the NEW FORT, at the foot of Straehan Avenue; and the ARMOURY, or DRILL SHED, near the foot of West Market Street.

Of clubs, public and private, Toronto has her full share. Foremost among them must be ranked the TORONTO CLUB, a wealthy and exclusive institution situated on the east side of York Street, immediately to the south of the Rossin House. Next in order comes the NATIONAL CLUB, situated on the western side of Bay Street, a few steps south of King Street. It is of a decidedly Liberal complexion, and most of the leading members of the Reform party in Toronto are enrolled on its list of membership. The ALBANY CLUB was formed by the Liberal-Conservative party upon the suspension of the U. E. Club about two years since. It is situated on the east side of Bay Street, about midway between Melinda and Wellington Streets. The ROYAL CANADIAN YACHT CLUB is chiefly, though not entirely, confined to persons who devote more or less time to aquatics. Its club-house is situated on the Island. The TORONTO HUNT CLUB, consisting of about seventy members, holds regular meets during the season, and is a well-established and popular institution. The ONTARIO JOCKEY CLUB, as its name implies, is a sort of local Tattersall's. The

* *Ante*, pp. 205, 206.

+ *Ante*, pp. 233-241; 252-254.

rowing, curling, lacrosse, cricket and base-ball clubs of Toronto might almost be mentioned by the score.

Lacrosse being the national game of Canada, it is perhaps desirable to be somewhat more specific respecting the local clubs. The TORONTO LACROSSE CLUB has been in existence about eighteen years, having been established in 1866. From 1873 down to last year its local games have chiefly been played in the grounds on the corner of Jarvis and Wellesley Streets. Its members have recently acquired, at a cost of \$45,000, a fine tract of land on the north side of Elm Avenue, Rosedale, which has been fitted up with all the most efficient appliances, so that it is one of the most thoroughly equipped lacrosse grounds to be found anywhere. The officers are John Massey, President; Frederick H. Garvin, Secretary; Ross Mackenzie, Treasurer; R. B. Hamilton, Field Captain. The only other local club of special note is the ONTARIO LACROSSE CLUB, organized during the present year, mainly through the exertions of Mr. D. A. Rose, (of the Rose Publishing Company), J. H. McLean, and T. P. Phelan. Though it has so recently come into existence it has already become a formidable rival of the Toronto Club in popular favour and efficient playing. Its place of meeting is the plot of ground on the corner of Jarvis and Wellesley Streets already mentioned, and it takes rank as the second in importance among the clubs of Ontario. The principal officers are William Mulock, M.P., Hon. President; Alderman Hastings, President.

In the way of places of amusement Toronto is fairly provided for, though something additional is to be desired in this direction. The GRAND OPERA HOUSE is entitled to rank as a first-class theatre in its general arrangements, and many of the leading stars of two continents have appeared upon its boards. Its situation is on the south side of Adelaide Street west, about fifty yards from Yonge Street. Its height is four stories, and its architecture is of the ornamental French Renaissance order. Two other theatres—the Queen's and the Royal Opera House—were burned last year, and have not yet been rebuilt. The PAVILION of the Horticultural Gardens, and SHAFTESBURY HALL, have already been referred to under other headings.* The Zoo, situated on the north-east corner of Front and York Streets, is a miniature edition of the Great Zoological Gardens in Regent's Park, London. It is an establishment of modern date, and started from very humble beginnings, but it has obtained a firm hold upon public favour, and must be regarded as a rising and prosperous institution. The collection of curiosities and living animals is already large enough to justify its removal to a better and more commodious site.

* *Ante*, pp. 297, 292.

Our city has for many years enjoyed a deservedly high reputation for the excellency of the local hotels. Two of them, though of unpretentious architecture, are entitled to rank, as to all their interior arrangements, with the leading hotels of America. Several others are scarcely inferior, and if the author of "Lawrie Todd" could revisit the Toronto of to day, he would have little occasion to reiterate the doubtless well-founded complaints to which he gave currency fifty-eight years ago.*

* *Ante* p. 94.

Semi-Centennial Celebration.

1834-1884.

AS recorded on a former page, arrangements were made during the winter of 1883-4, for a Grand Semi-Centennial Celebration, to take place in Toronto during the closing days of June and the early days of July, 1884. The preparations extended through the spring of the year, and indeed up to the very eve of the Celebration, which was ultimately settled to take place during the six days beginning on Monday, June 30th, and ending on the Saturday following.

It is due to Mr. William Barelay McMurrich, ex-Mayor of Toronto, to state that the Celebration owed its existence very largely to his suggestions, and to the energy and enthusiasm with which he promoted the project, from its original inception down to the time of its successful realization.

Anything approaching to a full and comprehensive account of this, the greatest event in Toronto's civic history during the last fifty years, would of itself occupy a much larger volume than the one herewith submitted to the reader. All that can be attempted, within the few pages at the editor's disposal, is to arrange and condense, from the current newspapers of the time, such chief incidents and descriptions as may serve to perpetuate the occasion to future generations.

The following is the list of membership of the various committees appointed to carry out the Celebration :

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Chairman—W. B. McMURRICH.

His Worship the Mayor,	Samuel Trees,
Dr. Geo. H. Wright,	Lient.-Col. Grassett,
Geo. M. Rose,	John Kent,
A. McCormick,	Charles March,
James Rose,	R. B. Hamilton,
Wm Badenach,	J. B. King.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Chairman—His Worship THE MAYOR.

Hon. Edward Blake,	Hon. Senator Macpherson,
Ald. Brandon,	Hon. Alex. Mackenzie,
M. Crombie,	Robt. Pearson,
B. Cumberland,	His Lordship Bishop Sweatman,
Homer Dixon,	John Small, M.P.,
Col. C. S. Gzowski,	J. F. Smith,
Hon. Oliver Mowat,	Hon. Senator Smith,
Thomas Moor,	Dr. D. Wilson,
Ald. Moore,	Chief Justice Wilson,
W. J. Macdonell,	P. G. Close.

DECORATIONS COMMITTEE.

Chairman—L. J. COSGRAVE.

J. Aldridge,	L. Lewis,
R. W. Abell,	Michael McCurdy,
R. Birmingham,	Andrew McIntosh,
Wm. Bell,	Thos. McQueen,
Geo. Beals,	Alex. McGregor,
Hugh Blain,	John McGlue,
Geo. E. Bedson,	R. W. Meldrum,
H. P. Boulton,	S. J. Murphy,
Wm. Carlyle,	Alex. Manning,
Charles Chase,	Charles March,
J. Donough,	James Ross,
E. Farthing,	Francis Richardson,
Jas. R. Gibson,	Wm. Rennie,
Hon. Senator O'Donohoe,	Ald. Sheppard,
Abram Henderson,	Frank Taylor,
John S. Johnston,	James Wright,
G. Harris,	Robert. Walker,
Jno. Kennedy,	Dr. J. E. White.
Edward Lowes,	

COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS.

Chairman—DR. GEO. H. WRIGHT.

no. A. Anstrong,	James Herson,
W. S. Baines,	John T. Hornbrook,
Rev. C. W. E. Body,	Rev. Septimus Jones,
D. Blain,	Samuel Keith,
Jno. Bailie,	J. B. King,
Wm. Burns,	James Leslie,
E. F. Blake,	M. McCabe,
R. L. Cowan,	R. McIntyre,
W. Gibson Cassels,	Hon. Alex Morris,
J. Cosgrave,	John Maedonald,
Geo. A. Chapman,	J. J. Murphy,
Dr. C. W. Covernton,	H. Norwich,
Geo. T. Duncan,	E. B. Osler,
R. Ealey,	L. Ogden,
A. Fleming,	F. Plumb,
J. J. Foy,	Jno. S. Playfair,
Wm. Gooderham,	Vicar-General Rooney,
A. Geddis,	Francis Rush,
Rev. John Hogg,	R. Myles.
Jno. Harper,	J. J. Withrow,
J. B. Henderson,	J. P. Wagner,
W. P. Hamilton,	J. H. Venables.
Geo. Hardy,	A. G. Hodge.

PRINTING AND INVITATIONS.

Chairman—SAMUEL TREES.

James Bain,	James Mason,
Ald. Blevins,	Wm. Nurse,
P. Boyle,	Daniel Rose,
E. H. Duggan,	J. S. Williams,
A. T. Fulton,	Frederick Wyld,
Robert Hay, M.P.,	Geo. H. Wilkes,
Ald. Hunter,	Ald. Woods.

MEMORIAL VOLUME COMMITTEE.

Chairman—REV. CANON SCADDING.

Samuel Alcorn,	J. C. Dent,
Rev. L. Brennan,	Dr. W. B. Geikie,
Dr. Wm. Canniff,	Thos. C. Irving,
Dr. J. J. Cassidy,	Geo. Murray,
C. J. Campbell,	G. M. Rose,
Rev. Dr. Craven,	Dr. James Ross,
W. Mortimer Clark,	Robert Spratt,
Rev. Dr. Castle.	Wm. Wedd, M.A.

MUSIC COMMITTEE.

Chairman—JAS. B. BOUSTEAD.

S. B. Brush,	Dr. Uzziel Ogden,
Marcellus Crombie,	Henry O'Brien,
Allan Cassels,	Eugene O'Keefe,
John Kent,	Ald. Steiner,
Father Laurent, V.G.,	Prof. Ramsay Wright,
Ald. Love,	W. H. Vandersmissen.
Geo. H. Mitchell,	

FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Chairman—WALTER S. LEE.

James Austin,	James Graham,
Wm. Badenach,	S. B. Harman,
James Beaty Jr., M.P.	J. B. King,
John Burns,	Hugh Miller,
W. H. Beatty,	David Miller,
John L. Blaikie,	Wm. Mulock, M.P.
Edwin Buehan,	Matthew O'Connor,
W. W. Copp,	M. E. Snider,
W. A. Douglass,	Andrew Smith, V.S.,
Wm. Elliott,	A. Thornton Todd,
Geo. Gooderham,	Ald. Turner,
Ed. Gurney, Jr.	Henry Wade.

STREET PARADE COMMITTEE.

Chairman—LIONEL YORKE.

Wm. Adamson,	John Hanrahan,
Ald. Barton,	W. B. Harvey,
J. M. Buchan,	Ald. Irwin,
Chas. Burns,	Fred. Jenkins,
Jno. Booth,	Robt. Kerr,
Jno. Brooks,	Thos. Lane,
Wm. Copland,	N. J. Lawler,
S. W. Downey,	W. J. Milling,
Jno. A. Donaldson,	W. Mansell,
Thos. Dulan,	Jno. Mills,
Geo. Evans,	Dr. C. E. Martin,
Alex. Edgar,	G. McMurrich,
E. Galley,	A. McMurchy,
Jno. C. Glen,	J. W. O'Hara,
Wm. Gee,	Ald. Piper,
Jos. Garden,	Wm. Petley,
A. W. Godson,	Alex. Patterson,
C. A. Garratt,	James Rose,
G. Groves,	W. H. Rodden,
J. Hughes,	A. W. Smith,
John Haye,	James E. Smith,
Jno. Hallam,	David Williams.
W. J. Hamblly	W. Lee.
F. E. Lloyd,	

COMMITTEE ON GROUNDS.

Chairman—ROBERT BELL.

Hon. Geo. W. Allan,	Peter Kearney,
Wm. Armstrong,	James Lennox,
Major James Bennett,	James McMillan,
Hector Cameron,	Ald. Manghan,
John W. Collins,	W. C. Mathews,
Jno. Fawcett,	Henry Norris,
Lemuel Felcher,	Thomas Pitts.
Jno. Graham,	Ald. Pape,
R. Glockling,	J. L. Rawbone,
R. B. Hamilton,	Fred. W. Smith.

TABLEAUX COMMITTEE.

Chairman—DR. J. S. KING.

D. Breckin,	J. Kelz,
C. H. Bishop,	W. Lea,
J. Booth,	T. J. Macdonnell,
J. W. Carter,	A. McCormack,
W. J. Chick,	W. B. Phipps,
H. E. Clarke, M.P.P.	J. R. Robertson,
W. H. Doel,	F. Sheppard,
Ald. Defoe,	F. Somers,
A. Farrence,	A. A. Slader,
J. Fawcett,	T. R. Wood,
D. Harnett,	W. Walsh,
A. Henderson,	G. F. Frankland.

MILITARY DISPLAY.

Chairman—LIEUT.-COL. G. T. DENISON.

Major Allan,	Lieut.-Col. Grassett,
Lieut.-Col. Denison, D.A.G.	Captain Mason,
Major Dawson,	J. J. Manly,
Captain Delamere,	Wm. Macdonald,
Ald. Denison,	J. H. Mead,
Major Gray,	Col. Milsom, Brigade Major.
Captain Gibson,	

MONDAY, JUNE 30TH.

The object of the Celebration being to commemorate the fiftieth year of Toronto's growth, it was fitting that the first day should be set apart as a municipal and historical day. In all the glory of a bright summer morning, with flags and banners floating merrily from house-tops and windows, with sounds of music from east and west and all round, the "Semi-Centennial week" was ushered in. The citizens of Toronto had proposed

to hold a grand parade and magnificent demonstration, with both of which unpleasant weather would have seriously interfered, but the weather, although a little sultry, was delightfully fine. Nature had apparently put on her pleasantest aspect, and smiled approval upon the proceedings in celebration of an important event. The sun shone from a clear sky, and although there were no clouds to interpose between and temper the warmth of its rays, it was comparatively kind, and probably forgot one part of its business in contemplation of the preparations and excitement beneath. The shade trees, or at least their foliage-covered branches, swayed restlessly to and fro in the morning breezes which the lake sent up as timely evidences of at least one advantage of Toronto's situation; and in the rustling of the leaves might be fancied whispered congratulations between the ancient and stately witnesses of Toronto's birth upon the advent of Toronto's Semi-Centennial. But Nature had not been left unassisted in her efforts to present the city to visitors in its fairest aspect. The long line of decorations on either side of the streets, the thousands of flags, of all nations and all sizes, that waved and fluttered from buildings of mean and high pretensions alike, the evergreens and flowers, which changed the appearance of the practically vulgar brick and mortar, and gave some of the brightness and beauty of the outer world for the denizens of high-walled streets to enjoy—all gave evidence of the determination of the people of Toronto to make the Semi-Centennial Celebration an event to be long remembered by themselves, and by those who came to see them during the week. Of course Yonge and King Streets led the way in the matter of decoration, but Queen Street was not far behind in its display, although there are comparatively few business places of importance on that thoroughfare. It was not on the business streets alone, however, that the work of decorating the buildings had been carried on. Many of the streets where private residences are the great majority were gay with bunting, and over the doors hung prettily coloured Chinese lanterns, awaiting the night, that their beauty might be made evident, and their usefulness acknowledged.

As the day advanced, and the morning with its pleasant air was gradually passing away, the crash of brass bands, as they suddenly burst forth in lively marching tunes, became more frequent, and there was soon sufficient music around the principal thoroughfares to soothe even the most savage breast. The crowds on the streets gradually increased, until progress through them became somewhat difficult. They were not the ordinary crowds which any momentary excitement will gather, but in themselves presented a novel and pleasing spectacle. The scarlet uniforms

of the visiting volunteers thickly dotting the throngs on every thoroughfare, and the gay summer attire of the ladies who formed, in more than one sense, a "fair" proportion of the sightseers, were almost as charming to look upon as those who wore them. From nearly every coat depended a Semi-Centennial medal or souvenir, or fluttered the silk badge announcing the wearer to be an official or some one with an active interest in the Celebration.

When noon was reached and passed, and the hour at which the expected procession would form drew near, the streets which formed part of the route for the day became filled with people. At the street corners especially, the crowds grew large, and the people who composed them gradually found themselves forced to struggle for a position from which the anticipated spectacle might be witnessed. From every window along the route, heads were peering, and from housetops, verandahs, and other points of vantage, thousands sought to obtain an unimpeded view of the approaching procession. All was pleasant expectation. Every eye was strained to catch the first sight of the leading marshal, and every ear was on the alert to catch the first sounds of the music which should announce the near approach of the great parade.

From noon until two o'clock the City Hall was the rendezvous of a pleasant company. At the invitation of the Mayor, the ex-Mayors and members of past Councils of the city met the members of the present Council and the City officials, and proceeded thence to the place of formation of the procession. Several of the former occupants of the Civic chair were present, among the number being His Honour Lieutenant-Governor Robinson. A large number of members of former Councils attended, and as they shook hands with former antagonists or supporters in the debates of the City's Parliament they lived over again the parts they played in the municipal politics of Toronto a generation or more ago. In the meantime, at the invitation of the Mayor, refreshments were served in his Worship's private office. Mr. William B. Smith, Mayor of Philadelphia, and Mr. J. G. O'Neil, Mayor of Port Huron, were present as guests. A book was provided, and a large number of the gentlemen entered their names, many of them with their year of service. The company then drove away to take their place in the procession.

At last the rattle of the drums was heard, and then the blare from the brass instruments burst upon the ear. Outriders, furnished by the police force, were the first to appear, and as they dashed into view the crowds on the street surged backwards to make room for the long expected pageant. Then followed a squad of mounted police, riding abreast and pre-

senting a good appearance. After the military bands, which preceded the procession proper, came the Grand Marshal of the day, Alderman Harry Piper. Mounted upon a splendid horse, and clad in riding coat and top boots, he appeared to appreciate the responsibility and the honour attaching to his position, and was evidently equal to the situation.

Speaking in general terms of the procession, it certainly fulfilled all the expectations that had been raised concerning it. It was a spectacle such as one may not hope to see on more than one occasion in a lifetime. It recompensed those who saw it for living in such a practical age as the present, and added to the favours which attach to a residence in the Queen City. It appealed to all tastes, the vulgar and the refined. Music and art contributed to make it pleasing, and to elevate its character. Colour and design combined to furnish the beauties of the special features presented, and nothing was roughly arranged or crudely constructed. In the tableaux, which were rolled somewhat clumsily along, there was a great deal to please the eye of the artist, and the taste of the designer. The subjects selected for illustration were appropriate and well chosen. They were so many pages from the history of Toronto, illustrations of events which should be familiar to every inhabitant of the city. For instance, the tableau entitled, "Clearing the Land," forcibly reminded the spectators of the difficulties the early settlers had to contend with, and of the triumph which crowned their labours, their energy, and their perseverance. "Augustus Jones's First Surveying Party," was a very interesting tableau. The figures were exceedingly well arranged, and were sufficiently expressive. A large painting stood in the background, on which was represented a half-cleared settlement, with the settlers busily employed. Six oxen were employed in drawing this representation through the streets. "The Indian Wigwam" was the next of the tableaux to appear in sight. A group of Indians, in war paint and feathers, gave life and force to the picture, for in 1793 the wigwam of the aboriginal was the only human habitation to occupy the site on which Toronto now stands. A very interesting tableau was that entitled "The Occupation by the British." In this representation of an historical incident, the services of a dozen or so of the Royal Grenadiers were required. The soldiery formed a small group, in the centre of which a French officer was seen in the act of delivering his sword to the commander of the British. "The Early Settlers" was the title of the tableau next in order. A log cabin, such as had sheltered the first white inhabitants of Toronto, was represented. Around it were standing or sitting those who were presumably the occupants of the cabin. Two or three men were engaged in

splitting recently felled trees, and two women were busy at the ancient spinning wheel. "The Landing of Governor Simcoe" was a tableau which possessed a peculiar interest. Six horses drew the mammoth ear, on which was placed a boat manned by sailors. In the stern of the boat sat three officers, one of whom was supposed to be Governor Simcoe. Each was attired in the velvet coat and three-cornered hat which in the time of our great grandfathers were the height of fashion. "The Naming of York Harbour" was a wonderfully complete representation. In the rear of the ear was a block-house protected by cannon. In front of this building paced a sentinel. In the forward part of the ear was a boat, as if advanced a few yards from the shore. The boat was manned by sailors, and in the bow stood an officer, with hand extended, as if in the act of naming the harbour. York was represented by soldiers and settlers, the former indicating the presence of a garrison, and the latter representing the "oldest inhabitants." Above all was a cradle labelled "Toronto," and at the head of the cradle sat Britannia, as if protecting the latest addition to her family of Canadian cities. "The First Parliament House," was the next tableau to roll into view. Under a roof supported by heavy pillars, and around a table of extensive proportions, sat several men as if debating the destiny of Upper Canada. "The Incorporation of Toronto" was a very pretty tableau, and one that would be readily understood, with the inscription beneath, "Britannia," with an Indian seated beside. At her feet sat a girl, wearing a crown upon her head, and representing Toronto. Before her stood an official, with cocked hat and sword, in the act of handing her the document which proclaimed the incorporation of the city. In "Toronto, the Centre of Agriculture," men were represented busily engaged in the several branches of husbandry, and several girls were seen employed in churning. The whole picture was a representation of a Canadian farm. In the tableau entitled "Toronto, an Educational Centre," well filled book-shelves were represented, the picture being completed by the presence of a number of students. "Toronto, the Queen City," was a tableau representing the present position of the city, with the advances made by science and civilization. Miniature telegraph poles were erected at each of the four corners of the ear, and they were connected by wires which extended from pole to pole, and served to keep them in place, as well as to make clearer the significance of the design. The last of the tableaux was one entitled "Toronto Welcomes All." On this ear were seated a few individuals who were attired to represent the natives of the different European countries. And thus ended the most interesting feature of the "Historical Day" proces-

sion. The police force presented a very fine appearance, and by the precision and regularity of their movements in response to words of command, showed the effect of frequent drill and good discipline. The members of the Council, the Public and Separate School Boards, the Public Library Board, and others, looked proud and happy as they drove along in carriages, each gentleman being covered with smiles and badges. The firemen, gorgeous in gleaming helmets, red and blue shirts, and bouquets, were everywhere applauded, and, indeed, presented an appearance that was calculated to excite admiration and provoke applause. They marched in good order, doubtless conscious of their fine appearance, but almost coldly indifferent to the applause with which they were so familiar.

All was bustle and expectancy on Yonge Street when the time announced for the starting of the procession arrived. Although for hours previous the street had been lined with multitudes of people, it was not till two o'clock that the assembled thousands began to enquire if it was in sight, and to look anxiously for its advent. Along Wellesley, Maitland, Alexander, Grenville, and St. Alban's Streets, the divisions had formed, and under the charge of their respective aides, were ready to start about half-past two o'clock. The Grand Marshal, everything being in readiness, then gave the word of command to march, and the first division, headed by a platoon of police, proceeded down Yonge Street. The following was the order of the procession :

Detachment of Mounted Police.	Members of Separate School Board.
Buglers.	Members of Free Library Board.
Chief Marshal—Ald. Piper.	
Aides to Chief Marshal.	
FIRST DIVISION.	
Chief of Division.	
Band—Queen's Own.	
Chief of Police.	
Deputy Chiefs of Police.	
Police Officers.	
Police.	
Band—Royal Grenadiers.	
His Worship the Mayor.	
Ex-Mayors.	
Members of the City Council.	
Members of Former City Councils.	
Corporation Officials.	
Members of Public School Board.	
SECOND DIVISION.	
Chief of Division.	
Band—Massey Manufacturing Company.	
Ald. Farley, Chairman	
Fire and Gas Committee, and	
Chief Ardagh.	
Fire Brigade.	
Old Fire Brigade.	
Volunteer Brigades.	
Life Saving Crew, with Boat.	
THIRD DIVISION.	
Chief of Division.	
Band—Governor-General's Foot Guards.	
Chairman of the Citizens' Semi-Centennial	
Committee.	
Orators of the Day.	



Robert Roddy
City Clerk



Folis Johnston
Chairman
Public School Board



William G. McMillan
City Collector



R.E. Hamill
Secty Semi-Centennial
Celebration Committee



Jerry Rev. Francis Rooney P.P.V.P.
Chairman Sizerdale School Board



James F. Re
Secty Semi-Centennial
Celebration Committee

Executive Officers of the Semi-Centennial Committee.

Members of the Committee.

FOURTH DIVISION.

Chief of Division.

Band—Guelph Band.

President York Pioneers.

Officers York Pioneers.

Fifty Members York Pioneers.

TABLEAUX.

“Clearing the Land.”

“Augustus Jones’s First Surveying Party.”

“Indian Wigwam, 1793.”

“Occupation by the British.”

“Early Settlers.”

“York Pioneers.”

100 Members York Pioneers.

“Landing of Governor Simcoe.”

“Naming of York Harbour.”

“York.”

“Meeting of First Parliament.”

“Incorporation of Toronto.”

Band—Bolt Company’s Band.

Fifty Members York Pioneers.

“Toronto as an Agricultural Centre.”

“Toronto as an Educational Centre.”

“Toronto the Queen City.”

“Toronto Welcomes All.”

Band—Riverside Juvenile Band.

The route of the procession was *via* Yonge Street to Queen, along Queen to Jarvis, along Jarvis to King, along King to Simcoe, along Simcoe to Queen, along Queen to Strahan Avenue, and thence to Exhibition Park. All along the route, the streets, windows and housetops were crowded with a multitudinous array of eager spectators. Thousands of hands waved in the air, and as the more striking features of the parade passed up the densely crowded streets, the thunder of the applause was deafening. The measured tread, the upright bearing and massive proportions of the civic police were hailed with enthusiastic plaudits as they filed past in magnificent order; the long array of carriages following, bearing the civic officials, past and present, was scanned with careful scrutiny, and at intervals a cheer passed along the line as some well-known face or figure was recognised and instinctively honoured. From scanning the civic countenances the eye is finally raised, and glancing to the eastward, catches the steady onward march of the firemen in glittering picturesque uniform, which flash and dazzle in the sunlight, and thrill the vast masses of spectators with enthusiasm. Like the civic police, these are men of noble physique and splendid bearing. The chiefs may reasonably look back with pride upon their followers, and the citizens may well be proud of their protectors. Following are the hose-reels and hook-and-ladder trucks, gaily decorated, festooned with cedar and hung with flowers, while away in the rear is something which is causing unusual commotion, and a shout of laughter and applause gradually creeps along the line of procession. It is the old “Brake her down, boys” of 1834, drawn by members of the old Fire Brigade. Upon another conveyance is the “bar’l,” the water system of the good

old times, and trudging alongside a few of the old reliable pumping engines of those days. Another conveyance bears hook-and-ladder truck of pronounced juvenile design, but valuable in its day, and holding still a warm place in the affections of the veterans. Following this is another long array of carriages with the officials, members of the Semi-Centennial Committee, and distinguished citizens. Then a new feature of unusual interest approaches. "Here come the Pioneers," is passed along the line, and a long roll of applause greets their advance. Three sturdy yoke of oxen trudge placidly along, dragging a vehicle representative of the early colonial days, and the Pioneers follow, as they followed many and many a day in the past. Then comes the series of tableaux, already referred to, which, as they pass in review, vividly tell the story of Toronto's growth and Ontario's progress. The ideas sought to be conveyed, the memories sought to be recalled, are quickly seized by the spectators, and the reward of appreciative applause is promptly rendered. One is unconsciously taken back to the unhewn forests, and brought forward, step by step, through the gradual processes of our ever-growing civilization, until we behold Toronto, the Queen City of a great Province, the centre of a thriving, populous agricultural district, a growing, stirring, unresting metropolis, the proud possessor of colleges of national repute, indomitable commercial pluck and enterprise, and vast material wealth. The Scarboro' militia of 1837-8 bring up the rear of the parade, and the great street demonstration of Monday, so far as the sight-seers at this point are concerned, has passed.

The procession arrived at the Exhibition grounds at about half-past four o'clock, and after a short delay the Mayor and party proceeded to the stand in the ring from which the addresses were to be delivered. Among those present were ex-Mayor McMurrich, the Mayors of Philadelphia and Port Huron, the aldermen of the city, members of the Semi-Centennial Committee, and the York Pioneers. The Guelph band opened the proceedings with a selection of music. Mayor Boswell then came forward and said he felt exceedingly proud to be the Chief Magistrate of the city on such an occasion as the present. While he said this, he would frankly admit that the credit of the Semi-Centennial celebration was in no way due to him, but to his predecessor in office, Mr. W. B. McMurrich, who had taken unto himself the heat and burden of the day. If the rest of the celebration was carried out as satisfactorily as that day's portion of it, he thought Mr. McMurrich would be a proud man, and the citizens would be delighted with what he and his colleagues of the Semi-Centennial Committee had arranged. Speaking of the progress of

Toronto, his Worship made the statement that there was only one other city on the North American continent that had beaten Toronto in this respect, and that was Brooklyn. He concluded with an allusion to Toronto's greatness as a commercial, educational and railway centre, and hoped that when we celebrated our centennial the city would have quadrupled its population. He did not take any stock in the political disturbers who were talking about annexation or independence. He hoped that for the next fifty years, and many more to come, our Most Gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria would reign over us.

Mr. W. B. McMurrich, who was received with three cheers, said that when he drew up the programme for that afternoon's meeting he had left himself out, and therefore he was surprised to be called upon to address them. As one born in Toronto, he was proud of the success of that day's celebration. He was proud of the city, of the committee who had assisted him, and of the Mayor and Council, and he had no doubt that Toronto would reap considerable benefit from the week's festivities.

Dr. Daniel Wilson, the orator of the day, was received with much applause. It was expected that the Doctor would give a retrospective history of the city's growth, but he said that the history of the city was unwritten; in fact it had no history. It remained for the young men of to day to fill up the great white pages before them, and he pointed out the glorious histories of Thebes, with its ancient foundation 1,000 years before the Christian era; Jerusalem, with its great temple; and above all, that wonderful centre of modern civilization, London. He pictured the future of the Dominion as the greatest, noblest country on the face of the earth. Of annexation, the Doctor said the time had not come, and probably never would come, for that. He looked with the greatest reverence upon the United States, but he was sure that great country could learn something from us.

Mayor Smith, of Philadelphia, was introduced, and said that as there were no representatives of larger cities than Philadelphia present he would speak for the whole of the United States. He, himself, was born in the British Empire, and he could not forget that. His Worship paid a graceful compliment to our good-looking ladies, and what he was pleased to call our beautiful city, and tendered the meeting a message of friendship from the city of brotherly love.

Mr. Wm. Rennie then read an address to the Rev. Dr. Scadding from the York Pioneers, and at the same time presented the venerable doctor with a handsome silver medal from the society, over which he has presided for the past four years. Dr. Scadding replied in suitable terms,

after which the proceedings were concluded in a remarkable way. Old Mr. Banks played "Auld Lang Syne" on the clarionet, and Mr. Rennie announced that Mr. Banks had played the same tune at the incorporation of the city fifty years ago. This announcement was loudly applauded, and the assembly dispersed.

In the evening there was a fancy dress ball at the Pavilion in the Horticultural gardens. Owing to the counter attractions, and the warmness of the weather, it was not very largely attended, but it passed off very pleasantly. The chief outside attraction was the firemen's torch-light procession. The firemen of the different stations formed at the Court Street hall about 9 o'clock, under charge of Ald. Farley, assisted by Chief Ardagh and assistant chiefs Graham, Davis and Thompson. The X L C R coloured band marched at the head of the procession and supplied the music, Capt. Jack Richards being drum-major. The route was along Court Street to Church, down Church to King, along King to Brock, up Brock to Queen, down Queen to Yonge, down Yonge to King, and thence to the starting-place, where the procession broke up, the various sections returning to their stations.

The illuminations of the city were most impressive. The citizens responded nobly to the call of the Committee to decorate their houses. Even in those parts of the city where there are only residences, flags floated from the housetops, and in many cases bannerets and streamers made windows gay. On the less important thoroughfares of trade there was hardly a place of business of any kind but was bright with the glorious red, white and blue. Yonge and King Streets, however, naturally led in the extent and beauty of their decorations. One of the main features of King Street was the arch erected just west of Yonge. It was covered with canvas, one side being painted to represent a building of logs, while on the other appeared a handsome arch of solid masonry. The inscriptions were "Toronto, 1834," and "Toronto, 1884." Many of the displays in front of business establishments were of the most handsome character, and did credit to the taste as well as the public spirit of those who made them.

TUESDAY, JULY 1ST.

In taking part in the demonstration of this second day, the people were also doing honour to the natal day of the Dominion. The great national holiday, coming thus in the middle of the Semi-Centennial rejoicings, left many people free who would otherwise have been at their work, and the

crowds attending the several events of the day were, therefore, enormous. All day the sun shone from an unflecked sky, his rays causing some discomfort to the multitude, and a great deal to the volunteers, whose parade was the main feature. So intense was the heat that several men were overcome by it, and the ambulance parties which the majority of the corps had provided were called upon to perform much the same duty as in active service. But the sun's rays, though unpleasantly warm, added a brilliancy to every scene, without which it would not have been perfect. The city's population was augmented by thousands of excursionists from other places, and no street but showed greater animation by reason of the presence of so many visitors. Every form of amusement was offered to the people, and everything that offered was well patronized. Boating on the bay and the various excursions were the chief attractions to thousands. The bicycle meet and games proved an enormous success, and theatres and minor shows were well patronized. The great event, however, was that which caused the day to be called "Military Day" on the Semi-Centennial programme. The last of the battalions to take part in the display did not arrive until the morning, just in time to prepare for parade. The time of march being ten o'clock, the battalions to be in their place at half-past nine, the preparations, even with those regiments already in the city, had to begin at an early hour. From early morning, men in uniforms were hurrying about, hither and thither, conveying orders, and seeing to the perfection of the various arrangements. The camping grounds of the visiting corps were scenes of busy preparation from the finish of an early breakfast until the bugles sounded for the "fall in." About nine o'clock, a large proportion of the pedestrians making for the central portion of the city was composed of smartly-dressed volunteers. The corps assembled sharp at the time appointed, and the thousands who thronged the streets to watch them as they marched to the Queen's Park, were not kept waiting. The whole route was lined with people, and the Park was a marvel of assembled humanity. The parade, in spite of the drawback of the heat, was most successful, and reflected credit upon every volunteer who took part in it.

With military punctuality the forces appeared, with the exception of the 13th Battalion, which was unfortunately delayed *en route* from Hamilton. At the head of the King Street division were the Governor-General's Body Guards, headed by their band, which by the way is the only mounted band in the Dominion. The squadron was splendidly mounted, and the men looked as clean and neat as if they had just stepped out of

glass cases. Next to the Body Guard came the Toronto, Hamilton and Welland Canal Field Batteries, Major Gray commanding, all well horsed, and looking fit for any service. The artillery division was one of which the Province might well be proud. The Fusilier Brigade, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, completed the King Street division. This brigade was led by "C" Company Infantry School, all the members of which looked thorough soldiers, and fit to lead the way anywhere. The fine appearance they presented, and the many encomiums which were passed by the spectators, were ample recompense to Colonel Otter and the officers for the pains they had taken to bring the company to a high state of efficiency. The company was, for the day, brigaded with the Governor-General's Foot Guards, of Ottawa, a fine body of men, who looked remarkably well in their pretty uniforms. The 6th Fusiliers, of Montreal, and the 7th Fusiliers, of London, are splendid corps. Bringing up the rear of the column were the Tenth Royal Grenadiers, who never appeared to better advantage. The physique of the 10th was unexcelled by any of the battalions, and each company could not have been distinguished, so far as their military bearing and precision of movement were concerned, from regulars. The band also received well-merited praise. The infantry brigade formed on Wellington Street, the head of the column resting on Simcoe, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Skinner. The 12th York Rangers headed the brigade, and turned out in full strength. The 34th, 36th, and 77th Battalions followed in the order named. All the corps looked well, and in their marching and movements showed traces of the benefit they have derived from the week they have been spending in camp. Notwithstanding the fatigue of a hot and dusty march from the camp on the Garrison Commons before reaching the parade ground, the corps presented an appearance as neat and trim as any on parade. The Rifle Brigade, composed of the Queen's Own and 14th Prince of Wales' Rifles (Kingston) formed on Simcoe, south of Wellington, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kerr. The column of dark green looked sombre and quiet compared with the more showy uniforms of the other brigades, but in point of physique and smartness they were all that could be desired. Toronto's crack corps found that it had a close rival for honours in the 14th, a smart, soldierly set of fellows, who marched and moved well. The close proximity of the latter corps to the Royal Military School and regular battery has evidently a good effect in prompting them to emulation of the regular corps. The Queen's Own, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, were 563 strong, including pioneer, hospital, and signalling corps.

The streets were, if possible, more densely crowded than during the procession of Monday, and no little difficulty was experienced in clearing a way for the troops. From the balcony of the Rossin House, the parade was viewed by the Lieutenant-Governor and party, and as on the previous day this was one of the chief points of interest. To the very general regret, the 13th Battalion, of Hamilton, failed to reach the city in time to appear in the parade, and the absence of their band, which is such a favourite with Torontonians, was universally lamented. On the return march, however, the 13th, having arrived, was in line, and while the soldierly bearing of the troops was warmly commended, the music of the ambitious city's splendid band was enthusiastically recognized all along the route. Too much praise and sympathy cannot be given the troops on parade. The heat was overpowering, the route long and dusty at many points, and it is not a matter of surprise that in a number of cases absolute physical exhaustion should have been produced, and a falling-out of the ranks rendered imperatively necessary. The line of march from this point was along King Street to Jarvis, along Jarvis to Wellesley, then along Wellesley and St. Alban's to the Queen's Park. All along the line of march, the streets, windows, balconies, and the roofs of many of the buildings were crowded with enthusiastic sight-seers, and it must be said of the citizens that the many demonstrations of cheering and loud clapping indulged in all along the route were not by any means confined to the Toronto regiments. The visitors were most generously treated, and but little local feeling was permitted to manifest itself. The citizens, one and all, seemed to recognize the fact that the brilliant success of the day was in a large measure due to the visiting battalions, and were proportionately grateful. The rush to reach the park in advance of the troops was an exciting spectacle. Every avenue of approach was literally jammed to suffocation with moving masses of struggling, sweating humanity, anxious to reach a vantage point to witness the review, of which there is only space to record that it was one of the leading features of the entire celebration. It brought together the finest battalions in the Dominion, and probably no more magnificent military display has ever been witnessed in any Canadian city. The wheelsmen's parade, and the races on the Toronto Athletic Grounds at Rosedale, were on a scale unequalled in the history of wheeling in Canada.

The evening programme was of equal attractiveness. No larger crowd has ever been seen in the Horticultural Gardens than that which turned out at the promenade concert and fireworks display. The evening was a fitting close to a bright summer day—warm, but not op-

pressive. The music on this occasion was supplied by Heintzman & Co.'s band of 35 pieces, led by Mr. H. Pye. The selections chosen were all of the bright and popular kind, and the music reflected credit on the band and its leader. The fireworks, which were, of course, the main attraction, were of the most beautiful and elaborate character, and included some pieces which showed great ingenuity, as well as care, in their preparation. Following a salute of aerial maroons came flights of rockets, no two of which seemed to be alike, and all of which were applauded. After a number of other minor pieces, balloons of various designs were sent up. One of them, representing a human figure, caused great amusement. Two balloons of the ordinary shape were made to discharge rockets in their course. The finest pieces were reserved until the darkness had so far deepened that they could be seen to the best advantage. Once these latter were begun, they were run through with great rapidity, yet so varied was the programme that it was after one o'clock before the strains of the National Anthem warned the people that the evening's amusement was at an end.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2ND.

The principal feature of the third day was the Trades and Industrial demonstration, representing the industries and resources of Toronto in a manner that must have been gratifying to all classes of citizens, and interesting to the thousands of visitors. A procession on such an extensive and attractive scale has never before been witnessed in this or any other city in Canada. It was immense, respectable, and a grand success. Toronto may well feel proud of her workingmen. They did nobly, and their efforts to show the Queen city at its best will not soon be forgotten.

The procession formed on upper Yonge Street about 10:30 o'clock in the forenoon. It was made up of eight divisions. J. McGlue was Chief Marshal, and there was a Chief over each division, all being well mounted. The firemen headed the parade. They wore their bright new uniforms, and were generally admired. The trucks and reels were conspicuous for their beautiful decorations. Chief Ardagh and Asst. Chief Graham presented a solid front.

The first division consisted of Trades Unions, the Chief being F. A. Campbell, and was headed by the Trades and Labour Council, with a monster beehive tableau, indicative of the hum of general industry. Sixty members of the Council, appropriately badged and all looking eminently respectable, were in the parade. Charles March, the President,

showed them the way, and the Bolt Company's band played for them. Then followed

Bricklayers' Union, 1 tableau and 200 men.	T. Tushingham, 2 wagons.
Bookbinders, 2 wagons and 100 men. Band—Maple Leaf Band.	Firstbrook Bros., 2 wagons and 12 men.
Bakers' Union, 2 wagons and 40 men.	Barchard & Co., 2 wagons and 6 men.
Amalgamated Carpenters, 1 wagon and 60 men.	Spilling Bros.
Brotherhood of Carpenters, 1 wagon and 60 men.	Stewart & Robinson, 1 wagon and 6 men.
Stone Masons, 1 wagon and 60 men. Knights of St. Crispin and 60 men. Band—Garrison Artillery.	FOURTH DIVISION.
Painters' Union, 1 tableau and 100 men.	Chief of Division—T. Murphy.
Labourers' Union, 1 tableau and 250 men. Expressmen's Union, 2 wagons.	Heintzman & Co., with Band, 2 wagons and 80 men.
SECOND DIVISION.	American Express Company, 5 wagons and 10 men.
Chief of Division—F. Martin. Band—Pioneers' Drum and Fife Band.	Vickers' Express Company, 3 wagons and 6 men.
J. Doty's Engine Company, 3 wagons and 100 men.	Dominion Express Company, 7 teams.
Massey Manufacturing Company, 6 wagons and 100 men.	Brush Bros., 1 wagon and 3 men.
Ontario Steel Barb Fence Company, 2 wagons.	Crompton Corset Company, 1 wagon and 1 man.
Ontario Lead Works, 2 wagons.	T. Thompson, furrier, 3 wagons and 3 men.
Inglis & Hunter, 2 drays, boiler and engines.	J. Rogers, 1 wagon and 6 men.
THIRD DIVISION.	Knickerbocker Ice Company, 6 wagons and 10 men.
Chief of Division—E Whitaker. Band—Adamson's Band.	C. Burns, Dominion Ice Company, 2 wagons and 8 men.
Wanzer Sewing Machine Company, 1 wagon.	Taylor Bros., 1 wagon and 1 man.
Singer Sewing Machine Company, 10 wagons and 30 men.	G. F. Rice, 1 wagon and 4 men.
Virginia Tobacco Company, 1 wagon.	FIFTH DIVISION.
Royal Dominion Flour Mills, 3 wagons and 25 men.	Chief of Division—J. Hawthorne.
C. Richardson, 2 wagons.	Dominion Organ Company, with Band, 8 wagons.
S. May & Co., 1 wagon.	Cooper's Gooderham & Worts, 3 wagons, 10 men.
J. P. Wagner & Co., 2 wagons and 2 men.	B. Malcolm, 2 wagons, 20 men.
	J. Burroughes, 4 wagons, 30 men.
	S. McNair & Co., 2 wagons, 10 men.
	Lugsdlin & Barnett, 2 wagons, 25 men.
	W. P. Kearns, 1 wagon, 6 men.
	C. Stark, 2 wagons.
	Band—Streetsville Band.
	Toronto Lithograph Company, 2 wagons, 4 men.

Alexander, Clare & Cable, 1 wagon, 12 men.
World, news office, 1 wagon.
Tribune Office, 10 men.
Williams, Green & Rome, linen collars, 1 wagon, 1 man.
Dorenwend, hair dresser, 1 wagon.
W. Millichamp, 2 wagons, 4 men.
T. G. Rice, 3 wagons, 15 men.
Toronto Lime Company, 7 wagons, 7 men.

SIXTH DIVISION.

Chief of Division—M. King.
Band—Coloured Band.
W. H. Knowlton, 3 wagons, 4 men.
W. Ryan, 1 wagon.
J. Knowles, 1 wagon, 2 men.
McLanghlan & Moore, 2 wagons, 2 men.
J. R. Clare, baking powder, 1 wagon, 1 man.
Shedden & Co., 2 wagons, 2 men.
Hendrie & Co., 2 wagons, 2 men.
Railway Supply Co., 1 wagon, 1 man.
McDonald, McNally & Co., 2 wagons, 12 men.
Beaver Lock Works, 1 wagon.
J. L. Bird, 1 wagon, 3 men.
E. T. Barnum, wire and iron.
D. C. Pike, tents, 1 wagon.
R. A. Allengham, 2 teams.

SEVENTH DIVISION.

Chief of Division—Herbert Smith.
Band—National Silver Cornet Band, Tuscarora, N. Y.

H. Slight, florist, 1 wagon, 1 man.
J. E. Dixon & Co, carraige manufacturers, 2 wagons, 11 men.
J. E. Pape, 1 wagon.
Pure Gold Manufacturing Company, 1 wagon, 1 man.
Consumers Gas Company, 3 wagons, 6 men.
Barber & Ellis, 2 wagons, 6 men.
H. H. Warner & Co., 2 wagons, 2 men.
R. Walker & Sons, 2 wagons, 6 men.
S. C. Becket, photo. gallery, 1 wagon, 1 man.
J. Claxton, 2 wagons, 6 men.
A. W. Mason, phrenology, 1 wagon, 1 man.
A. Sullivan & Co, 1 wagon, 1 man.
Hodge & Williams.
Morrison & Taylor, 2 wagons, 10 men.
Hewitt Bros, 2 wagons, 6 men.
J. W. Townsend, 1 wagon, 2 men.
Dominion Tea Co., 1 wagon, 1 man.
H. A. Eastman, 1 wagon, 1 man.
P. Freysing & Co, 1 wagon, 1 man.
Waterhouse & Co, 1 wagon, 1 man.
G. Tait, 3 wagons, 6 men.
Geo. T. Pendrick, 1 wagon, 10 men.

EIGHTH DIVISION.

Chief of Division—W. Jones.
Band—Downsview Band.
P. Burns, 135 wagons, 200 men.
E. Rogers & Co., 50 wagons, 100 men.
Robinson & McArthur, 10 wagons.

That such a procession was imposing can well be imagined. Many other firms were represented, but it was a very difficult matter to keep track of them all. The procession was fully four miles in length, and occupied nearly two hours in passing a given point. The route was down Yonge to Queen, along Queen to Parliament, down Parliament, and along King to Simeoe Streets, up Simeoe to Queen, along Queen to Strachan Avenue, and thence to the Exhibition grounds. The streets were a mass of humanity, joy and satisfaction being depicted on the countenances of the processionists, and admiration on the faces of the spectators. Applause was frequent and hearty, but there was little or no

cheering—it was too hot for that. At the Exhibition grounds the procession broke up, and the tired marchers enjoyed themselves picnicking with their families. The day passed pleasantly with all, and no accidents of any account happened, nor did anything of a disagreeable nature occur.

In the evening the Pavilion of the Horticultural Gardens was occupied by a large audience, which represented the fashion and culture of the city, as well as the more refined element among our visitors. The seating capacity of the edifice was completely filled, and the excellent ventilating arrangements made it cool and comfortable. The performance was the magnificent oratorio of "The Creation," and it is safe to say that never has a finer rendering of this great work been offered to a Toronto audience, or, indeed, to any Canadian audience. The solo cast was:—

Soprani.....	{ Miss Fanny Kellogg, Miss Agnes Corlett.
Alto.....	Miss Foster.
Tenor.....	Mr. Wm. Courtney.
Bassi.....	{ Mr. Ivan E. Morawski, Mr. Fred. Warrington.

The chorus numbered nearly three hundred voices, and presented a very imposing appearance arrayed on the tiers of the platform. The work done by the chorus was always good, and, in some instances—notably in the noble "The Heavens are Telling"—rose to the sublime. The orchestra also was in splendid form, composed of about 45 picked instrumentalists, among whom the celebrated Mendelssohn Quintette Club did yeoman service. Mr. Bayley and Herr Jacobsen occupied the first desk, and were assisted by Mr. Bannerman, Miss Clench, and Mr. Sauer, of Buffalo, as well as prominent musicians of our own city.

THURSDAY, JULY 3RD.

The fourth day's features were the U. E. Loyalists' gathering at the Horticultural Gardens, the Oratorio of "The Redemption" in the same place, and the fireworks on the bay.

In the morning the U. E. Loyalists, and their descendants from all parts of the Province, held an enthusiastic meeting in the Pavilion. This gathering was in honour of the 100th anniversary of the settlement of Upper Canada by the U. E. Loyalists, and was held at this time to swell the importance of the civic fête. Dr. Canniff, of this city, occupied the chair, and delivered an appropriate opening address. Among those present were

the Ven. Bishop Fuller, of Niagara; Salter J. Vankoughnet, C. E. Ryerson, Hon. G. W. Allan, Rev. D. Machar, Rev. Le Roy Hooker, William Kirby, Canniff Haight, Ald. F. L. Denison, Dr. Dewart, A. McLean Howard, Rev. Dr. Withrow, Rev. R. S. Forneri, James H. Morris, Rev. Dr. Rose, Rodney Moore, T. A. Denison, Lieut. Col. G. T. Denison, A. N. Gamble, Rev. Dr. Scadding, A. Servos, Dr. Hillier, Levi Van Kempt, D. W. Clendenning, Col. Clench, Rev. Seaton Thomson, Thomas Claus, Mayor Boswell, F. F. McArthur, Dr. A. McNabb, Wm. Cryderman, Dr. Richardson, Rev. Mr. Thompson, James Graham. Sims Richards sang Rule Britannia in an inspiring manner, and was heartily applauded. Mrs. Charlotte Morrison recited Rev. LeRoy Hooker's (Kingston) poem, "The United Empire," with much spirit. The poem was received with rounds of hearty applause. Miss Foster, of Guelph, sang "A Loyalist Song" with pathos, and E. W. Schuch pleased the audience with his rendering of "The Maple Leaf for Ever."

The speakers of the meeting were Hon. G. W. Allan, Lieut.-Col. G. T. Denison, Chief Green, of the Bay of Quinté Reserve, and the Rev. Mr. Hooker. All of the speakers dwelt with great fervour on the deeds of the U. E. Loyalists. Music was furnished by the Grenadier band.

At 3 p. m. Lieutenant-Governor Robinson held a reception at the Government House to the Loyalists and their descendants. There was a large number of callers who were presented to his Honour. Capt. Merritt, G. G. B. G., was the aide-de-camp in waiting. Refreshments were served, and the Grenadier's band furnished music out on the lawn. The guests then assembled in the drawing-room, where short addresses were made by Lieutenant-Governor Robinson, Rev. LeRoy Hooker, William Kirby, of Niagara, and Governor Aikins, of Manitoba. The addresses were of the same tenor as those delivered in the Pavilion.

The display of fireworks on the bay at night was witnessed by many thousands. Never before, except probably on the occasion of one of Hanlan's races, has there ever been seen such a gathering of boats on the bay. The city front was dazzling with hundreds of Chinese lanterns. The Toronto Rowing Club's boat-house was by far the most attractive, and was admired by all who viewed it from a steamer's deck or a row-boat. The procession of boats was a failure, and instead of forming in line, as proposed, the illuminated craft of all kinds were scattered all over the bay. They could not be got together, and that part of the programme had to be abandoned. Professor Hand's fire-works did not at all come up to expectations, and great dissatisfaction was expressed everywhere. Fort McMurrich and Fort Centennial, which were anchored half

way across to the island, were storned with Roman candles for about an hour and a half, and about midnight the much talked of arch made its appearance. The illuminated boats were far more attractive than the fireworks, and, indeed, the scene they presented was a pretty one. The forts and arch were of the most ordinary description. However, it cannot be said that the committee having the fireworks in hand did not work hard enough. They spent a great deal of time over it, and did all in their power to make the spectators pleased. It was after one o'clock in the morning before the crowds dispersed, and up to that hour the streets leading from the water front were crowded.

The attendance in the evening at the Horticultural Gardens to hear Gounod's oratorio, "The Redemption," rendered by the Philharmonic Society, was unprecedented. Early in the evening, the crush for seats began. Every available chair and bench from the balconies was soon brought down and occupied, and by eight o'clock large numbers of people were standing at the back of the galleries and on the ground floor, and many who could not find room in the hall were obliged to stand in the vestibule. The chorus, which numbered something like 500 voices, was the largest that has ever taken part in any performance in this city, and presented quite an imposing appearance, rising tier after tier along the sides and ends of the hall.

The choruses were given with life, and the large body of singers was held well under control by the conductor. The orchestra was almost the same that took part in "The Creation," on the previous night, and left little to be desired. Mr. Torrington is to be congratulated for his able management of so large a chorus and orchestra, and for bringing to such a successful issue one of the best concerts ever given by the Philharmonic Society.

The important part taken by our two musical societies in the Semi-Centennial celebration is deserving of special remark. It proves that along with the growth of industry and education in other branches, music is by no means flagging. Toronto is now acknowledged to be the most enterprising musical centre in Canada, and there is little doubt, that ere long it will occupy a position in this respect second to none on the continent.

FRIDAY, 4TH JULY.

To-day, which was to have been the crowning event of the Celebration, proved a blank, and all the preparations for the grand parade of the benevolent societies were rendered useless by the weather. The com-

mittee expected nearly 10,000 persons in the procession had it taken place. There were visiting societies from Rochester, London, Hamilton, Owen Sound, Barrie, Newmarket and elsewhere. The sight would have been an imposing one. Although the sky appeared somewhat threatening in the morning, an immense crowd of people assembled on Yonge Street, and in fact all along the route. The interest manifested was fully equal to that of the preceding days. But ere long the downpour began, and when it became apparent that the rain was going to last for some time, an emergency meeting of the Executive Committee was held, and it was decided to postpone the parade until next morning. Many of the visitors were compelled to leave for home, but enough were left to make a spectacular turn-out.

In the evening the Semi-Centennial Committee entertained the visiting uniformed societies at a luncheon at the dining hall, Exhibition Grounds. The city and visiting Oddfellows assembled at the Walker House, and marched to the Union Station, while the Knights of Pythias assembled at the hall on Yonge Street, and went to the dépôt in a body, headed by the Toronto Concertina Band. Both bodies boarded a special train which conveyed them to the Exhibition Grounds. The Oddfellows were represented by the Rochester, Toronto, London, Barrie and Newmarket encampments. In the Knights of Pythias' party were the Uniformed Ranks of Hamilton and Toronto. At the dining hall, one table ran across the end of the room, while three others extended along its entire length. They were neatly laid out and decorated with flowers and silver. The Knights and comrades filed into the hall and seated themselves by word of command. About 200 were present. The affair was conducted on strictly temperance principles, nothing but tea, coffee and lemonade being used. Some good speeches were made, and a pleasant evening was spent.

SATURDAY, JULY 5TH.

Although marred by repeated showers of rain, the last day's celebration of the Semi-Centennial may be said to have furnished one of the best displays of the week. The gathering of the societies in the morning was considerably less than that of the previous day, but those who did assemble were a credit to the cities from which they hailed. The parade of the uniformed encampments was well worth travelling a long distance to see, and their military bearing and marching would do credit to any battalion in the country. It was, however, to the parade of the afternoon that the people of Toronto turned with special pride and expectation.

The procession was in every way a success, the children turned out in large numbers, the senior boys marched splendidly, and although there were slight showers of rain, yet the youngsters moved on heedless of it. The streets were crowded with spectators, and there was a general concensus of opinion among them that no more interesting sight has been witnessed in Toronto.

Although the sky was comparatively clear early in the morning, it did not remain so. When the time for the benevolent societies to start came the rain was falling in torrents, and none of the organizations had made their appearance. About eleven o'clock, the storm having abated, they began to arrive and form on Yonge Street, near Maitland. No effort was made to arrange the various bodies into divisions. A start was made at about a quarter to twelve, and the procession moved off in the following order :—

Grand Marshal Piper in a coupé.	Toronto Division, 30 swords.
Platoon of Mounted Police.	Pioneer Fife and Drum Band.
Queen's Own Band.	X.L.C.R. Fife Band.
Toronto Uniformed Patriarchs, 50 swords.	Ancient Order of Shepherds and about 100
Rochester Encampment, 60 swords.	Juvenile and Senior Foresters.
London Encampment, 40 swords.	Manchester Unity Oddfellows.
200 City and Visiting Oddfellows.	100 Sons of England with Banners and 3
Alpha Division, K.O.P., Hamilton, 30 swords.	Mounted Marshals.

The drill competition between the Uniformed Societies took place in the afternoon on the Exhibition grounds. The judges were Colonel Otter, Colonel Grasett and Colonel Miller, and their award was as follows : 1st, Rochester Encampment Uniformed Patriarchs, 214 points, \$300 and magnificent silver mace ; 2nd, London Uniformed Encampment, 206 points, \$200 ; 3rd, Hamilton Knights of Pythias, 194 points, \$150. Toronto Uniformed Encampment scored 178 points. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor presented the prizes.

The threatening aspect of the sky in the morning had little effect on the young and hopeful children who were to form the educational parade. The Queen's Park presented a lively appearance early in the morning, crowds having assembled to view the forming of the procession. Inspector Hughes, Grand Marshal, arrived early on the scene, and all arrangements were completed for forming the different divisions. About twelve o'clock the schools began to arrive. They were headed by their respective teachers and captains. By one o'clock there were about three thousand children assembled, presenting a very pretty sight, as many of the

schools were dressed uniformly. The rain now began to fall, and it was feared that the parade would have to be abandoned. The majority of the children had very fragile clothes, but by order of the marshal they kept to their ranks bravely in hopes of the shower passing over. It was nearly two o'clock when, the children having all assembled, the order was given, and the procession moved off as follows:—

FIRST DIVISION.

Chief of Division—E. P. Roden.
 Dufferin School—100.
 Hope Street School—150.
 Bolton Street School—100.
 Bathurst Street School—160.
 Boys' Home—48.
 Grant Street School—200.
 Church Street School—300.
 Cottingham Street School—60.
 Band—“Anderson's Band.”
 John Street School—300.
 Borden Street School—100.
 Givins Street School—200.
 Elizabeth Street School—150.
 Louisa Street School—175.

SECOND DIVISION.

Chief of Division—Capt. J. T. Thomson,
 Pioneer Fife and Drum Band.
 Ryerson School—400.

Ketchum School—300.
 Palace School—120.
 Howard Street School—20.
 Niagara Street School—300.
 George Street School—200.
 Eastern Avenue School—75.
 Band—Riverside Juvenile Band.
 Pheebe Street School—250.
 York Street School—75.
 Victoria Street School—150.
 Orphans' Home—60.
 Winchester Street School—250.
 Wellesley Street School—100.

THIRD DIVISION.

Chief of Division—T. Herbert.
 Bolt Works Band.
 Separate School Board.
 Maple Leaf Band.
 Separate School Children—800.

A prettier sight than that presented by the children as they marched through the streets was never before witnessed in the city, and they were loudly cheered by the thousands of spectators who lined the sidewalks. They marched down the Avenue to Queen, along Queen to York, down York to King, along King to Yonge, up Yonge to Wellesley, along Wellesley to the Lacrosse Grounds. About 5,000 people had assembled at the grounds, who bitterly complained of having to pay twenty-five cents admission. Many parents had to turn away, as they went without money, not knowing that any admission fee would be charged.

The boys of the various schools formed into column and marched past in splendid form, after which they were dismissed. The drill competition followed, and was watched with great interest by the spectators. The judges were Captain and Adjutant Manley, Royal Grenadiers; Captain and Adjutant Hughes, 45th Batt., and Lieut. and Adjutant McLean,

31st Batt. Three schools, Wellesley, Dufferin and Ryerson, entered companies for the principal prize. Each company had a full complement of officers and non-commissioned officers. Captain Thompson, drill instructor, put them through the various movements, which were all exceedingly well done. The judges unanimously decided to award the first prize to the Wellesley boys, and the second to Dufferin.

While these exercises were in progress, another portion of the field was being occupied by the calisthenic competition among girls. The judges were Major Varnley, drill instructor, Normal School, Captain Baker and Mr. Scott, Ottawa. The prizes were awarded as follows: clock, presented by Mr. Hay for best calisthenic drill, to George Street School; prize medal in third class drill, George Street class; prize medals in fourth and fifth classes, Phoebe Street School; medal for second class drill, Phoebe Street School.

In the evening the celebration was closed by an event which was not only extremely appropriate, but impressive and beautiful. It was held in the Pavilion at the Horticultural Gardens, when six hundred of the children attending the Public and Separate Schools united in singing the praises of the city they lived in, and of the country which they claimed as their own. The festival was an entire success in every respect. It was attended by a large and fashionable audience, the capacity of the Pavilion being taxed to its fullest extent. The appearance of the children as they sat in tiers that rose gradually from the platform to a height of twenty-five to thirty feet, created a lively feeling of admiration. The girls, who occupied a central position on and above the platform, were dressed uniformly in white, and when singing in unison reminded one of the heavenly choirs to which poetical reference is frequently made. The boys were placed in the west end of the balconies, immediately over the stage, and consequently their dull, colourless attire did not interfere with the exceedingly pretty appearance presented by the white dresses and gay ribbons of the youthful members of the fair sex.

The programme of music consisted of a very pleasing selection, and was well carried out. The children sang in chorus, accompanied by Claxton's orchestra, and conducted by Mr. E. W. Schuch, and their numbers were given in a manner that reflected great credit on their instructors.

That the Celebration was upon the whole a great success will be generally acknowledged. It more than realized the most sanguine expectations of its promoters, while it has been unattended by any of the drawbacks which were either expected or foreshadowed. The arrange-

ments made were of a very complete and satisfactory description. All engaged in making the arrangements did their work thoroughly and well.

Toronto never looked better. On this point both citizen and visitor were agreed. The "muddy little York" of other days has effloresced into a beautiful and attractive city, with every prospect of its becoming always more beautiful and increasingly attractive. No doubt Toronto is greatly favoured by natural advantages. It is pleasantly situated. Its climate is good. Its surroundings are most favourable, and its facilities for an extensive commerce are of the highest order. As materials to work upon, these are all excellent and indispensable, but in addition there are required the continued exertion, the prudent and sustained enterprise, and the high-toned public spirit of the citizens. It ought never to be forgotten by any Torontonian, that he is a citizen of no mean city, and that as such it is his duty, as well as his privilege, to seek the good of the place in which he dwells, by taking a living and intelligent interest in its civic affairs, by serving it in every way he possibly can, by promoting or supporting every judicious and practicable scheme for increasing its general beauty and attractiveness, and by so setting his face against all rings and jobbery, that to all its other attractions Toronto may have this to be added: that its municipal affairs are managed with such care, economy and honesty, that it is growing attractive as a place of business, and residence, not merely for its sanitary, social, commercial, educational, and religious advantages, but also, when everything is considered, for the cheap rate at which it is there possible to live, and to live well.

THE END.

ERRATA.

At p. 5, line 6, for "additional," read "traditional."
At p. 122, line 4, for "potent" read "patent."

British America Assurance Company.



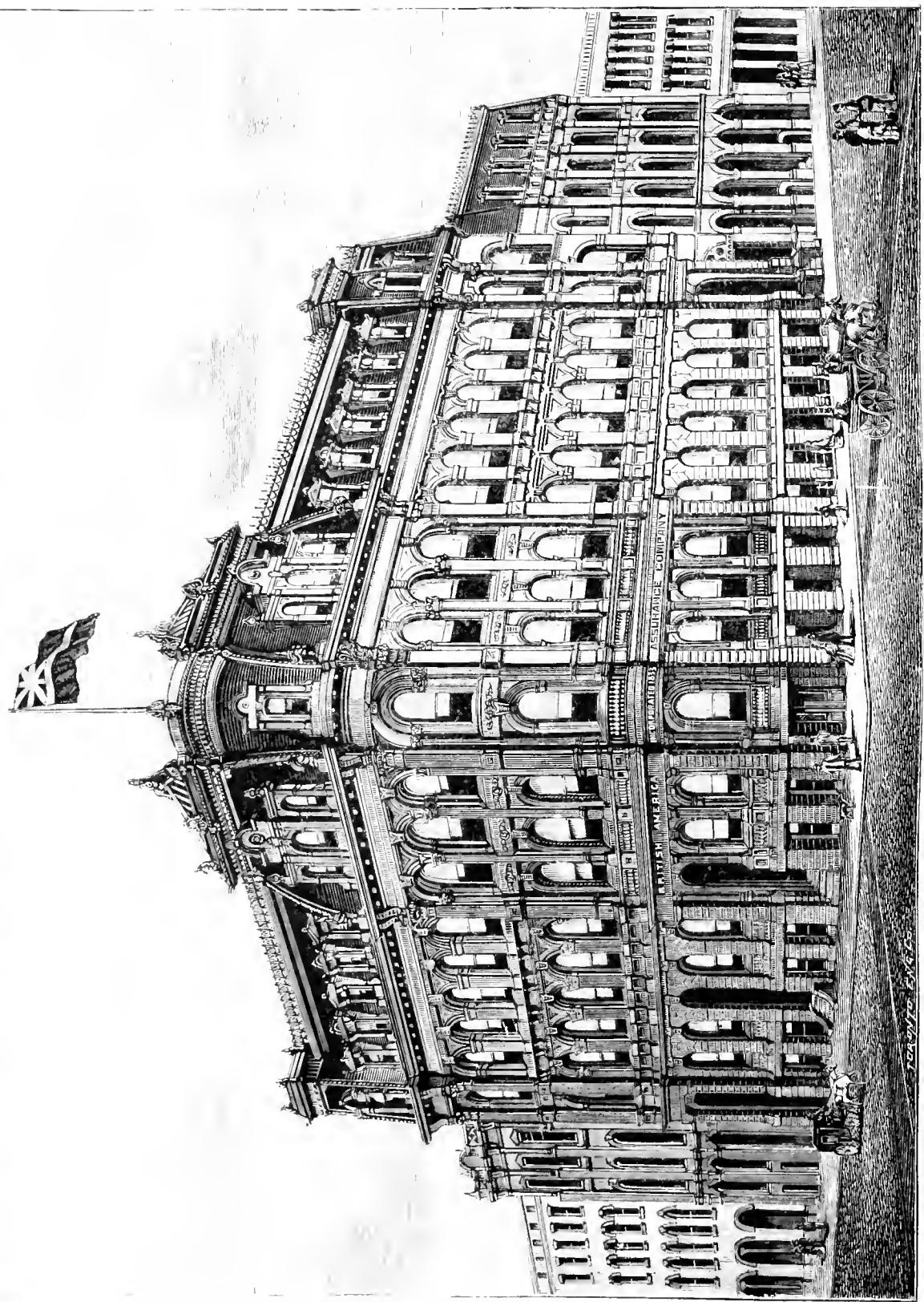
THE magnificent building depicted in the accompanying illustration is the property and headquarters of the British America Assurance Company, one of the leading Insurance corporations of the Dominion. It is situated on the north-west corner of Front and Scott Streets, facing the former. It has a frontage of 84 feet, and a depth, on Scott Street, of 104 feet. The style of architecture is modern, and the structure, as a whole, would be an ornament to any city on this continent.

The building, inclusive of basement and mansard, is five stories high, the material employed in its construction being Ohio grey freestone. The whole exterior is bold, effective, and rich in detail, being elaborated with highly ornate columns, pilasters, cornices, enriched windows, and other appropriate adornments.

The General Office of the Company is on the ground floor, 30 feet by 66, and having a height of 16 feet. The Board Room is on the first floor above. The upper portion of the building is divided into handsome offices, supplied with vaults, &c. Access to these offices is obtained either by stairway or by a comfortable and thoroughly equipped elevator.

The interior fittings, tables, desks, &c., are of walnut. They are of beautiful and elaborate design, and reflect credit upon the Oshawa Cabinet Manufacturing Company from whom they were procured.

The following is an outline of the Company's history from its earliest beginning to the present date. It was incorporated in the month of February 1833, more than half a century ago. Among the incorporators were some of the most prominent men then in the city. The first Governor elected was the Hon. William Allan, father of the present Hon. George William Allan, of Moss Park. The first Managing Director was Mr. T. W. Birchall. The authorized capital was \$400,000, but authority was some time since obtained to increase the sum to half a million. The Company began business with a paid-up capital of \$100,000, which was soon afterwards increased to \$200,000. At the present day the paid-up capital amounts to \$500,000.



BRITISH AMERICA ASSURANCE CO.'S BUILDINGS, Corner Front and Scott Streets.

TORONTO: PAST AND PRESENT.

Power was originally bestowed upon the Company to engage in the business of Life Assurance, but the permission was never acted upon. In October, 1842, the Company was authorized to transact Marine Insurance.

In April, 1869, the Managing Director, Mr. Birchall, owing to impaired health, was compelled to relinquish the duties of his office, and in August, 1871, he retired altogether from the office, which he had held for a continuous period of 38 years. The then Governor, Mr. George Percival Ridout, succeeded to the general management upon Mr. Birchall's withdrawal therefrom in 1869. Mr. Ridout retained the position down to the time of his death. In June, 1873, Mr. Peter Paterson was appointed Governor. He retained the office until 1882, when he was succeeded by Mr. John Morison, whose splendid success in business as a wholesale merchant afforded an effectual guarantee that the affairs of the Company would not suffer in his hands for want of competent management. With Mr. Morison was associated Mr. H. R. Forbes as Deputy Governor.

In the month of February last (1884) the following directorate was elected for the ensuing twelve months.

JOHN MORISON	- - - - -	<i>Governor.</i>
H. R. FORBES	- - - - -	<i>Deputy Governor.</i>
HON. WM. CAYLEY,		JOHN LEYS,
H. S. NORTHIROP,		HENRY TAYLOR,
GEORGE BOYD,		G. M. KINGHORN,
J. Y. REID.		

Mr. Morison is assisted in the management of the company by Mr. Silas P. Wood, as Secretary. The latter was formerly in the service of the Niagara Fire Insurance Company of New York.

It may not be out of place to mention that the Solicitor to the Company, Mr. Clark Gamble, has held the office for fifty consecutive years, the present being his semi-centennial in that position.



WESTERN ASSURANCE COMPANY'S BUILDINGS, Wellington Street East.

TORONTO ENGR CO

The Western Assurance Company.



THIS Company was incorporated in the year 1851, its charter granting it permission to carry on the business of Fire, Marine, and Life Assurance. Up to the present time it has not engaged in Life business, but has confined its operations to the other two branches. A large number of the names of the leading business men of Toronto of thirty years ago appear in the Petition for Incorporation, and one of the objects of organizing the Company is set forth in the preamble to the Act of Incorporation as follows: "That it hath been considered that the establishment of such an Association would be greatly beneficial to the interests of this Province, and tend to retain therein a large portion of the moneys annually sent away as premiums for such assurance."

The first President of the Company was Mr. Isaac C. Gillmor. For several years subsequent to the date of Incorporation, the position of Secretary was held by Mr. Robert Stanton.

The First Annual Report of the business of the Company shows a total premium income of £3,725 2s. 6d., while, from the Report of the business for 1883, it appears that the income has reached \$1,500,000.00, and that the cash assets of the Company now amount to \$1,289,000.00, thus rivaling, both in extent of business and financial strength, many of the Foreign Companies which transact business in this country, and thereby showing that the expectations of the founders have been fully realized.

The present Directors of the Company are Mr. A. M. Smith, President, the Hon. S. C. Wood, Messieurs Robert Beaty, John Fisken, William Gooderham, A. T. Fulton, Geo. A. Cox, Geo. McMurrich, and J. J. Kenny, Managing Director. For about twenty years, and up to the time of his death, in 1882, the Hon. John McMurrich filled the position of President, and during the greater part of that period the management of the Company was in the hands of the late Mr. Bernard Haldane.

The Western now has agencies established in all the principal cities and towns in the Dominion and in the United States.

The stately structure wherein the business of the Company is carried on is one of the finest in the Dominion. It is situated on the north-west

MEMORIAL VOLUME.

corner of Wellington and Scott Streets, facing the former. Its frontage on Wellington Street is thirty feet; its depth on Scott Street being ninety feet. It is four stories in height. In design the building is free English Classic, treated in Neo Greek detail. The general exterior is relieved by two pavillions on either end, the corner one forming the foundation for a tower 100 feet high. The material of the structure is Connecticut brown stone, and the interior is in Neo Jacobean style. The principal wood-work, including counters, desks, &c., is of polished cherry, put up by Mr. John Fletcher, of this city. All the smaller desks are made of the same wood and were furnished by the well-known firm of Hay & Co. The entrance door and vestibule doors are finished in San Domingo mahogany, and the chandeliers and grille, on the top of the counter, are in polished brass. The two principal flats are occupied by the Company. The architect was Mr. R. A. Waite, of Buffalo, and the cost of the structure was in the neighbourhood of \$50,000.

Imperial Bank of Canada.



HIS Institution, which ranks among the most popular and successful of Toronto's financial enterprises, commenced business in the year 1875, and has just entered upon the tenth year of its history. Its head-quarters are in a solid, substantial and well-appointed building, situated on the north-west corner of Wellington Street and Exchange Alley. It is a thoroughly well-managed, and in the best sense, Conservative Institution, the present Directors have all had seats at the Board since the bank first opened its doors to the public in 1875. Soon after its incorporation it amalgamated with the Niagara District Bank, an old carefully managed institution, established about thirty years since. It numbers among its customers many of the leading merchants of our city, and is regarded as one of the safest and most trustworthy of our banking institutions.

The balance sheet and statement of profits for the year ending 31st May, 1884, submitted to the shareholders on 2nd July, discloses the following satisfactory state of affairs :—

Profits for the year, after deducting charges of management, and making provision for all interest due depositors, and writing off all losses, amount to - - - - -	\$ 143,102 63
Profits brought forward from 1883 - - - - -	28,165 28
	<hr/>
	\$ 171,267 91

This sum has been appropriated as follows :—

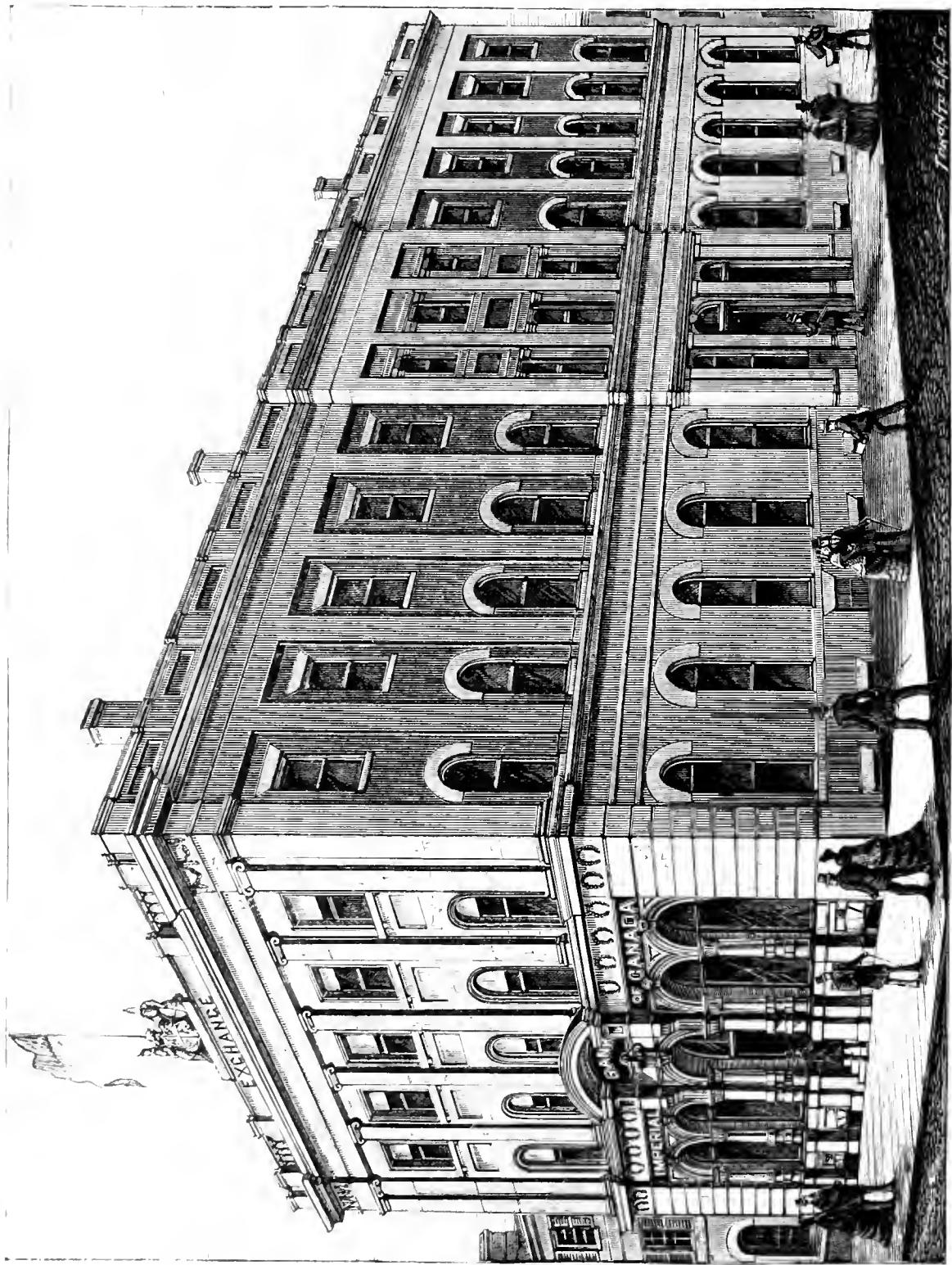
Dividend No. 17, 4 per cent. (paid 2nd January, 1884) - - -	\$ 60,000 00
Dividend No. 18, 4 per cent. (payable 2nd July, 1884) - - -	60,000 00
Applied in reduction of bank premises account - - - - -	4,598 65
Carried to rest account (making that account \$680,000) - - -	30,000 00
Balancé of profits carried forward - - - - -	16,669 26

The General Statement submitted at the same date is as follows :—

GENERAL STATEMENT, 31st MAY, 1884.

LIABILITIES.

1 Notes of the bank in circulation - - - - -	\$ 900,291 00
2 Deposits bearing interest (including interest accrued to date)	2,395,992 74



IMPERIAL BANK BUILDINGS, WELLINGTON Street East.

TORONTO: PAST AND PRESENT.

3 Deposits not bearing interest	8989,087 06
4 Due to other banks in Canada	17,351 66
	<hr/>
Total liabilities to the public	84,293,722 46
5 Capital stock paid up	1,500,000 00
6 Rest account	680,000 00
7 Dividend No. 18, payable 2nd July, 1884 (4 per cent.)	60,000 00
8 Former dividends unpaid	1,087 48
9 Balance of profit and loss account carried forward	16,669 26
	<hr/>
	86,551,478 90

ASSETS.

1 Gold and Silver coin current	8 259,879 60
2 Dominion Government notes	425,459 00
3 Notes of and cheques on other banks	153,402 79
4 Balance due from other banks in Canada	204,309 31
5 Balance due from agents in foreign countries	64,922 88
6 Balance due from agents in United Kingdom	61,868 57
7 Government securities	128,345 21
8 Municipal and other debentures	79,571 36
	<hr/>
Total assets immediately available	84,377,758 75
9 Loans on call	108,987 93
10 Loans, discounts, or advances on current account to Corporation	453,747 01
11 Notes and bills discounted and current	4,300,561 19
12 Notes discounted over due, secured	110,137 49
13 Notes discounted over due, unsecured	22,189 04

(Estimated loss provided for.)

14 Real estate, the property of the bank (other than bank premises)	21,525 25
15 Mortgages on real estate sold by the bank (all bearing interest)	22,281 00
16 Bank premises, including safes, vaults, and office furniture at head office and branches	120,650 00
17 Other assets, not included under foregoing heads	13,640 94
	<hr/>
	86,551,478 90
	<hr/>

Directors:

H. S. HOWLAND, Esq., PRESIDENT.

T. R. MERRITT, Esq., VICE PRESIDENT.

HON. JAS. R. BENSON, JOHN FISKEN, Esq.,

WM. RAMSAY, Esq., P. HUGHES, Esq.,

T. R. WADSWORTH, Esq.

D. R. WILKIE, CASHIER. B. JENNINGS, INSPECTOR.

MEMORIAL VOLUME.

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO.

Branches in Ontario:

FERGUS	J. F. PATERSON.....	<i>Manager.</i>
INGERSOLL.....	J. A. RICHARDSON	"
PORT COLBORNE	JOHN WATT.....	"
ST. CATHARINES	C. M. ARNOLD	"
ST. THOMAS	M. A. GILBERT	"
WELLAND	J. McGlashan	"
WOODSTOCK	S. B. FULLER	"

Branches in Manitoba:

WINNIPEG	C. S. HOARE	<i>Manager.</i>
BRANDON.....	A. JUKES	"

Correspondents:

CANADA—BANK OF MONTREAL AND BRANCHES.
ENGLAND—LLOYDS, BARNETTS, & BOSANQUET'S BANK, LTD., 62 LOMBARD STREET, LONDON.
" MANCHESTER & LIVERPOOL DISTRICT BANKING COMPANY, LIMITED.
NEW YORK—MESSRS. WATSON & LANG, AGENTS BANK OF MONTREAL, 59 WALL STREET.
CHICAGO—FIRST N. BANK.
ST. PAUL, MINN.—SECOND N. BANK.
BOSTON, MASS.—N. BANK OF THE COMMONWEALTH.
BUFFALO, N. Y.—BANK OF BUFFALO.

Hunter, Rose & Co.'s Publishing House.

HE name of this, the leading publishing firm of the Dominion, has been familiar to the Canadian public for nearly a quarter of a century. Starting from comparatively humble beginnings, it has steadily and prosperously won its way to recognition, until its imprint has become a household word from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the sunny slopes of Lake Erie to the bleak shores of Hudson's Bay. Its eminence, indeed, is not confined within the Canadian boundaries, for all along the frontier, and in many of the more northerly cities of the adjoining republic, the name of Hunter, Rose & Co. is a familiar sound.

The firm originally came into existence in the year 1861. Its headquarters were then at the old capital, Quebec, and it consisted of four members. The present senior partner, however, Mr. George Maclean Rose, was then, as now, the real head of the firm, and it is to his knowledge, energy and practical ability that its remarkable success is chiefly to be attributed. The partnership was at first formed chiefly for the purpose of carrying on the Government printing, the contract for which had been received by Mr. Samuel Thompson, who was unfortunately compelled to relinquish it, owing to financial embarrassments. Mr. Hunter, whose name appeared first in the firm's designation, was an accountant of much experience, and with a good deal of general aptitude for commercial life. The business had not been long in operation before two of the members retired, leaving it entirely in the hands of Mr. Hunter and Mr. Rose, who, under the style of Hunter, Rose & Co., completed the existing contract with the Government, and secured a five years' renewal thereof. In 1865 the Departments were permanently removed to Ottawa, which rendered it necessary that the Parliamentary Printing Office should also move thither. The contract was not only profitable in itself but it was the means of attracting a large amount of outside general business to the office, and the firm began to publish on a large scale. And so the busy and prosperous years passed by.



PRINTING AND PUBLISHING HOUSE OF HUNTER, ROSE & CO., Wellington Street West.

TORONTO: PAST AND PRESENT.

Upon the accomplishment of Confederation a new order of things came into being. Local Governments were formed in the four Provinces which then went to make up the Dominion; and it became necessary that local contracts should be awarded in each Province. The task of forming the first Government in Ontario was entrusted to, and successfully accomplished by, the late Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, who held the reins of power from the summer of 1867 until near the close of 1871. Upon establishing his Departments at Toronto, he contracted with a local firm for the Government printing. The facilities and experience of the firm were not such as to enable them to carry out their contract to the satisfaction of the Government, who made overtures to Hunter, Rose & Co., of Ottawa, to establish a branch at Toronto, and to undertake the work required by the Provincial Government. These overtures were favourably responded to. A ten years' contract was made between the firm and the Government, and Mr. Hunter removed hither to take charge of the branch then established. Mr. Rose remained at Ottawa in charge of the business there until 1871, when, the contract with the Dominion Government having expired, he also removed to Toronto, which has ever since been the headquarters of the firm.

No sooner had Mr. Rose removed hither than a very decided impetus was given to the general business. The Government printing, though fairly profitable, was altogether insufficient to engross all the energy and resources of the firm, who began to publish reprints of English and foreign works on a scale heretofore unattempted in this country. Honourable arrangements were made with many of the principal writers of Great Britain, including Charles Reade, Wilkie Collins, the late Lord Lytton, Mrs. Oliphant, James Payn, Besant and Rice, &c., and their works were produced here from advance sheets, contemporaneously with their appearance in London, and in a style which Canadian readers had not been accustomed to look for at the hands of the local press. The liberal dealings of the firm with their respective authors prevented the former from reaping any large profits from these ventures; but the issue of such works gave an impulse to the publishing trade of the country, and did much to cultivate a taste for good and wholesome literature.

A change was made in the firm in the year 1877 through the death of Mr. Hunter, and for some time afterwards Mr. Rose carried on the business unassisted. In 1878, a younger brother, Mr. Daniel Rose, a practical printer, of large experience as a business man, was admitted to the firm, which continued, and still continues, to be carried on under the old style of Hunter, Rose & Co. In 1882, Mr. Daniel A. Rose, a son of Mr. G. M.

MEMORIAL VOLUME.

Rose, was admitted as a partner, and these three members now constitute the firm.

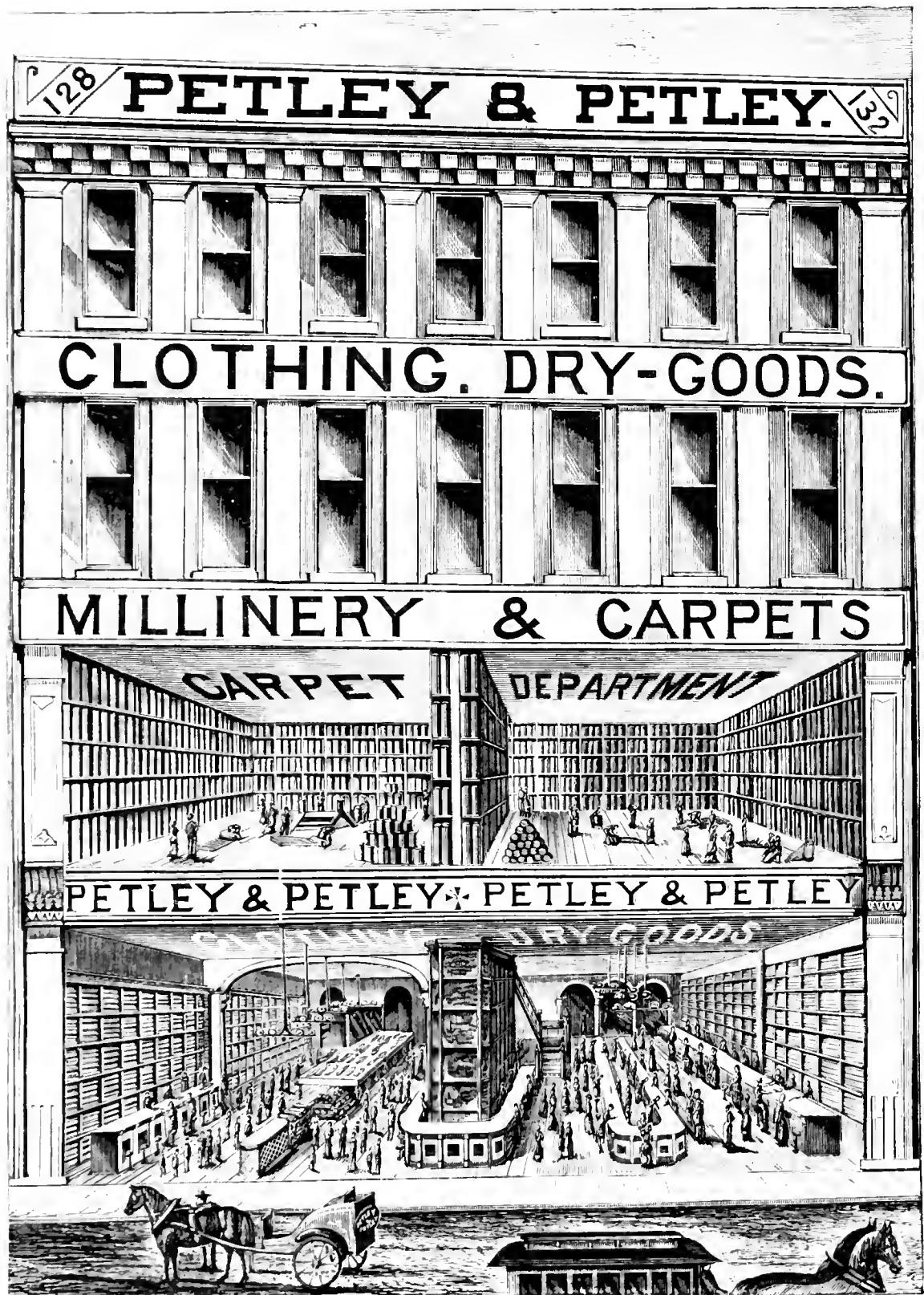
Of late years, in addition to their general business as printers and publishers, the firm have devoted considerable attention to the issue of subscription books, which have proved a very profitable source of revenue. Their large establishment, situated on Wellington Street West, is the only thoroughly-equipped publishing office in this Province. Of their capacity for turning out good work the present volume affords satisfactory evidence.

At the Sign of the Golden Griffin.

HE business carried on by Messrs. Petley & Petley is one of the largest and most flourishing retail enterprises in Toronto, which is equivalent to saying that it is one of the leading houses, in its particular branch of trade, to be found in the Dominion. The commodities dealt in consist chiefly of clothing, millinery, carpets, and general dry goods, and the headquarters of the firm are situated at numbers 128 & 132 King Street East, immediately opposite the St. Lawrence Market. There the rampant Golden Griffin rears its haughty crest to the gaze of all beholders, and there, during the business hours of every day of the week, may be seen a constant succession of customers, eager to avail themselves of the advantages afforded by a large and varied stock, offered at prices which, when the quality of the products is taken into consideration, must be pronounced to be without serious competition in this city.

The business was originally established on this site many years ago, by the old and well-known firm of Hughes Brothers, who built up a large and prosperous trade. In process of time the firm went into the wholesale business on Yonge Street, and disposed of their retail establishment to Messrs. Petley & Petley, who have ever since carried it on with an energy and good judgment which have been attended with splendid and well-deserved success. During the few years which have elapsed since they succeeded to the business it has nearly trebled in volume, and it still continues to grow with ever-increasing proportions. It has from time to time been found necessary to make considerable additions to the building, which at present has a frontage of fifty-five feet, a depth of one hundred and thirty feet, and a height of four stories. Should the performance of the future be borne out by the promise of the past, the premises, large and commodious as they are, will ere long be found inadequate to the requirements of the establishment.

The ground floor presents a most impressive appearance, whether to the customer entering the doors, or to the casual passer-by. The magnificent plate-glass windows display the contents to the best possible advantage, and all the interior arrangements have been made with a special view to



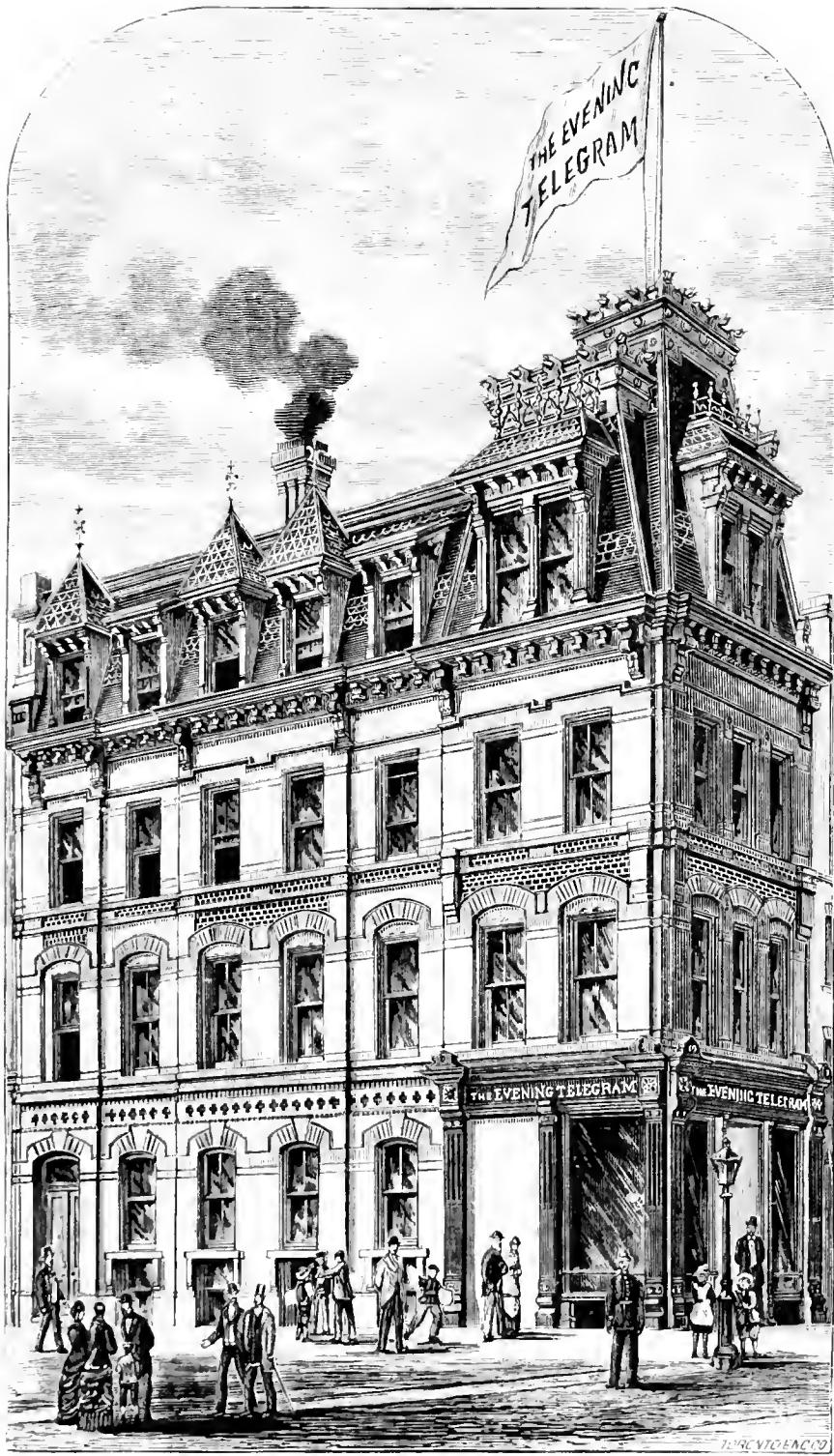
PETLEY & PETLEY'S WAREHOUSE. King Street East.

TORONTO: PAST AND PRESENT.

the convenience of purchasers. To the right of the main entrance are piled rows on rows of silks, satins, and velvets, in endless variety of quality and price. Here may be found well-woven silks at prices to suit the wife of the mechanic or the farmer; while, if the buyer's taste be more ambitious, he may provide himself with webs suitable for the royal robes of an Oriental Queen. Somewhat farther to the rear are millinery and dry goods of every description, and attentive clerks to display them. To the left of the main entrance is the ready-made clothing department, which includes the largest assortment of men's and boys' suits to be seen in Canada; while immediately to the rear is the tailoring department, where the latest styles of clothes are made to order at the lowest prices. Many of the best-dressed men in Toronto are indebted for their outward embellishments to the skilful manipulations of the cutters and measurers of Messrs. Petley & Petley.

Ascending to the second floor, we arrive at the carpet department, one of the most important branches of the immense trade carried on in the establishment. Here may be seen every style of floor-covering, from the costly Aubusson and Brussels down to the cheapest hemp, together with all the intermediate grades of Kidderminster, Tapestry, and what not. The rooms are spacious enough to display the countless patterns side by side, and thus to afford the widest variety of choice to intending purchasers. The upper stories are not open to the public, being occupied by the tailors, dressmakers, and other workmen and workwomen of the establishment.

Enterprise, integrity, and business capacity have here met with their meet reward. Messrs. Petley & Petley are known far and wide as taking high rank among the Merchant Princes of Toronto, and their establishment is resorted to by customers of every rank in life, from all parts of Ontario. Their phenomenal success is eminently worthy of commemoration in a Memorial Volume.



THE EVENING TELEGRAM BUILDINGS, Corner of Eay and King Sts.

The Evening Telegram.

THE EVENING TELEGRAM has for some years past been commonly recognised by the public as the principal evening paper in Toronto. It is now in the ninth year of its existence. The first number was issued on the 17th of April, 1876, and from that time down to the present, several editions of it have appeared every afternoon, except on Sundays and holidays. It was founded by its present proprietor, Mr. John Ross Robertson, who had previously been connected with several newspaper enterprises in Toronto, and had acquired a reputation as an energetic and capable man of business. During the first year of its existence it was issued at two cents. It filled an acknowledged want in local journalism, and met with considerable success from the first. In 1877 the price was reduced to one cent, and the effect was at once apparent in a largely extended circulation, which from that time forward grew with rapid strides. Advertising patronage was a necessary accompaniment of increased circulation, and by the time the paper had been established three years it had begun to yield a large and lucrative revenue from this source. Of late years it has been subjected to very keen rivalry, but as a local advertising medium it has fully held its own, and is to-day one of the most profitable newspaper enterprises in Ontario. It is read by people of all classes, and is more extensively sold on the streets and in the news stores than any other paper in the city. Its present circulation ranges from 12,000 to 15,000.

The *Telegram* was the first daily paper started in this Province on independent or non-partisan political principles. From the date of its first number until now it has kept itself entirely untrammelled by party ties, and has always been ready to award its approval or its censure upon considerations of merit alone. Speaking in general terms, its prevailing tone is decidedly liberal, but it is in no sense the organ of any hard-and-fast school of politicians, and it criticises both sides with the utmost freedom. It has from the first devoted special attention to municipal matters, a feature which has had no slight share in contributing to its

MEMORIAL VOLUME.

very remarkable pecuniary success. It has also been noteworthy for the freshness and comprehensiveness of its local news, in which respect it has generally distanced its larger and older contemporaries. Its editorial notes and articles are light and readable, the writers carefully avoiding the ponderous, unwieldy style which mars the effect of so many of the articles in the morning dailies. The editor-in-chief, Mr. Alexander Pirie, is one of the best known and most popular of Canadian journalists. He has been connected with the paper ever since its foundation, and is as closely identified with it in the public mind as is Mr. Robertson himself.

The fine building in which the *Telegram* finds its headquarters, on the south-west corner of King and Bay Streets, was erected expressly for its accommodation. The structure was completed in 1881. It was fitted up with all the latest improvements, and with little regard to the mere question of expense. The *Telegram* was removed into it from its former quarters on the east side of Yonge Street, and there it is likely to remain for many years to come.

The paper is printed on a Scott web perfecting press, which has capacity for printing 28,000 to 30,000 impressions per hour. The other appointments of the establishment are fully commensurate with the spirit of enterprise which characterizes the general management. The editorial and business rooms are beyond comparison the most commodious and comfortable to be found in the city. Take it for all in all, the *Evening Telegram* is an honourable monument to the enterprise and energy of its proprietor.



